

ASSOCIATIONS AND PATRONAGE IN ANCIENT ATHENS*

Interpersonal relations in ancient Athenian society were constructed either on the basis of kinship (real or fictitious) or on the basis of friendships. The history of archaic Athens, about which some scholars use terms implying patronage, is largely the attempt to shake off the burden of the nobility's monopoly on land and political power¹. However, classical Athenian society seems to be free of clientelism. The reconstruction of the realities of Athenian society, from which any reference to or hint of clientelism is missing, is largely patterned on the realities of the West European social ideals. In this ideological context, the archetype of democracy could not have been considered in clientelistic terms.

The ideal configuration of the Athenian social life relies on the assumption that clientelism is a feature of backward societies, in relation to the civilised West European ones. It was claimed that patron–client relationships appear only in the context of societies in transition from traditional organisation to a market-oriented social organisation. In fact, clientelism knows no limits; it appears in the social life of countries as far apart as Latin America, the Mediterranean (European and Islamic), sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. Accordingly, it presents a wide range of forms and variations.

The analytical approach of anthropologists and sociologists² has made possible the gradual development of a consensus concerning the salient features of patron–client relationship³. A patron–client relationship can be described as a construction of trust outside the boundaries of tradi-

* An earlier version of this paper was discussed in November 1993 at a Departmental Seminar, at the University of Glasgow. I would like to thank all the participants, and especially Prof. D.M. MacDowell, for their remarks and comments that helped clarify certain ambiguities.

¹ See P.B. MANVILLE, *The Origins of Citizenship in Ancient Athens*, Princeton 1990, p. 111-116. Cf. M. STAHL, *Aristokraten und Tyrannen im archaischen Athen*, Stuttgart 1987, p. 99-104, who rejects the existence of clientelistic links in archaic Athens on the ground that aristocracy was competitive and held offices on the basis of their achievement rather than networks of clients. Colonisation was one of the factors that averted the development of clientelistic links.

² Discussion and criticism of the earlier literature in S.N. EISENSTADT – L. RONIGER, *Patrons, Clients and Friends. Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society*, Cambridge 1984, p. 1-29.

³ See S.N. EISENSTADT – L. RONIGER, *op. cit.*, p. 48-50.

tional institutionalised societal arrangements (e.g. kinship). It presupposes the weakness or the unwillingness of the organised society to construct efficient, institutionalised channels of trust. It is based on the idea of obligation to reciprocate. The patron–client relationship is usually described as a reciprocal exchange of goods and/or services between patron and client. It is a personal, voluntary relationship of a certain duration and it is sometimes illegal or semi-legal. It is asymmetrical as far as the participants' status is concerned. The relationship reflects the superiority of status of one party in the relationship as a result of the differentiated access to essential resources. The differentiation is due to ascriptive criteria that are predominant in the society, but not always very clear.

However, this definition attributes much more importance to a relationship of individuals and cannot resolve the conflict between the consideration of patronage as a universal phenomenon and patronage as a feature of societies in transitory phase. I think that the expression 'patron–client relationship' requires further qualification similar to the distinction suggested by T. Johnson and K. Dandeker⁴. In particular, they distinguished between «patronage as a particular kind of relationship» and «patronage as a system of relationships». Patronage as a system is considered as a «complex and hierarchically organised series of chains of such relationships». It would be mistaken to identify it with the aggregate of individual patron–client relationships. Once we recognise that

«A complex network of such relations can function as the prime mechanism in the allocation of scarce resources and the dominant means of legitimising the social order then we can also understand that there have existed societies in which such a system has played a strategic role in the maintenance and reproduction of power relations» (p. 223).

The main question then is «whether patron–client relationships play a dominant (not exclusive) role in the organisation of the economy, polity, and society».

This paper does not aim to challenge the possible existence of patron–client relationship in ancient Greek society⁵ but rather attempts

⁴ *Patronage: Relation and System*, in A. WALLACE-HADRILL (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society*, London 1989, p. 219-242.

⁵ I am not going to be engaged in a discussion of literary and artistic patronage here.

to refute the assumption expressed recently by T.W. Gallant⁶ that ancient Greek (and more specifically Athenian) associations were not only the most suitable context for the development of such relations, but the actual venue where clientelism flourished. First, I would like to review the relevant but meagre literature on patron–client relationships in ancient Athens, and then to proceed in examining Gallant’s interpretation.

M.I. Finley⁷ was one of the first who examined ancient Greek society in terms of patron–client relations, but he took an ambivalent stance. On the one hand, he advocated that patronage existed in rural areas in periods of crisis since the protection offered by the aristocrats was appealing. On the other hand, he admitted that the extra seasonal labour, which was the main goods for exchange, could not constitute the foundation of widespread patron–client relation⁸. The ambivalence may be due to the intuitive realisation of the above mentioned distinction between patronage as a relation and patronage as system.

P. Millett⁹ attempted the most complete and up to date discussion of the subject¹⁰. He constructed his model on the premises of patron–client relations. He discussed the evidence concerning patronage for the period before the democratic revolution of 462 B.C., during which Solon’s *seisachtheia* and Peisistratus’ free loans (*Ath. Pol.* 16) were the two

⁶ *Risk and Survival in Ancient Greece. Reconstructing the Rural Domestic Economy*, London 1991.

⁷ *Politics in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 1983, p. 24–49.

⁸ For the possible existence of patron–client relationship in political life see B.S. STRAUSS, *Athens after the Peloponnesian War*, London 1986, p. 22–30.

⁹ *Patronage and its Avoidance in Classical Athens*, in *Patronage in Ancient Society* (n. 4), p. 15–47.

¹⁰ Cf. the reviews of E. WILL, *RPh* 65 (1991), p. 42–45, and J. NICOLS, *Gnomon* 164 (1992), p. 129–135. Earlier P. VEYNE, *Le pain et le cirque*, Paris 1976, p. 11, in the context of his examination of the phenomenon of euergetism, had already disconnected patronage from εὐεργεσία on the ground that the latter lacks the personal and the dyadic character of clientelism. Associations or groups, like cities, constituted a public, which attracts the attention of εὐεργέται. The gifts and the benevolence of *euergetai* were addressed always to collectivities and not to individuals. D. WHITEHEAD, *The Demes of Athens*, Princeton 1986, p. 309, reported the reluctance of scholars to use the terminology relevant to patronage in ancient Athens, due to the lack of the necessary legal framework. J. OBER, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens*, Princeton 1989, p. 228–229, asserted the absence of formal patron–client relations in classical Athens, although he underlined the predominance of the idea of χάρις. E. DENIAUX – P. SCHMITT-PANTELL, *La relation patron-client en Grèce et à Rome, Opus* 6–8 (1987–1989), p. 147–163, ascribe an important role to the introduction of the state pay but they reject the view that *misthos* was a part of collective patronage exercised by the city-state.

main efforts to tackle the problem and the consequences of clientelism. Evidence from the fifth century B.C. is confined to the description by Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 27.3) and Plutarch (*Cimon* 10.1-2) of Cimon's largesse towards his fellow demesmen (allowing them to help themselves from his fields and gardens)¹¹. After the landmark of Ephialtes' reforms, we hear about patron-clients implicitly only in Isocrates' *Areopagiticus* 32-35, which is a praise of the ancestral constitution. What is praised is the solidarity between rich and poor, shown mainly by the rich through loans and gifts. In a number of other cases, attitudes similar to that of clients were ridiculed. Millett concluded that the Athenians of the classical era found in the state pay, in liturgies and in political democracy an antidote to patronage.

However, Gallant¹² in a study of the strategies used by peasants to cope with the problem of survival in a highly competitive context, reached totally different conclusions about the relationship between associations and patronage. Gallant's central viewpoint regards associations in ancient Greece as the most likely structure for the meeting and the reciprocal satisfaction of the needs of peasant-clients and their patrons.

Gallant takes as his starting point the insight, provided by numerous anthropological surveys, that

«In cultures where an ideology of social equality, an ethos of reciprocity and obligation, and the concept of the 'Limited Good' exist, we should also expect to find well-developed systems of clientelism» (p. 146).

He considers that there is enough evidence to show that these concepts were present in archaic, classical and Hellenistic Greece¹³.

The peasant's strategy for survival, in case of crisis, was organised on three different levels. Kinsmen and neighbours constituted the first two resorts. Their proximity was, at the same time, an advantage and a

¹¹ Derived from Theopompus, *FGrHist* 115 F89. M.I. FINLEY, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 111, described it as «a rudimentary predecessor of the highly developed client system of the last centuries of the Roman Republic». M. STAHL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 102 n.174, claims that this case was an isolated episode. E. DENIAUX – P. SCHMITT-PANTELL, *art. cit.* (n. 10), p. 151, consider it as a case of communal patronage, next to Themistokles, Nikias, Alkibiades, Konon and Chabrias.

¹² *Op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 143-169. Cf. the reviews of R. GARLAND, *AHR* 197 (1992), p. 1189, and R. OSBORNE, *CR* 142 (1992), p. 103.

¹³ T.W. GALLANT, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 146-149.

disadvantage, since both would have been affected by the crisis. Therefore, any help they could offer, although immediate, may have been limited. Friends constituted for Gallant the third level of defence in case of shortages. However, a friendship should appear in a social context and it should be permanent if it is to produce certainties.

At this point, a slight deviation is needed to discuss briefly the features of the socio-political settings where patron–client relations flourish as Gallant defines them. These are:

- (1) politically, a very weak central authority is unable to assert effective control throughout its territory, thereby providing an opportunity for sub-groups to exert their own power and influence locally;
- (2) there is a differential access to vital resources, such as land and capital, markets and political power;
- (3) positions providing accessibility to the above are ascriptive and based on qualifications such as wealth, juridical status, or ethnicity;
- (4) there flourishes an ideational system that emphasises social equality and reciprocity in interpersonal relationships (p. 159-160).

Gallant claims that all these features are found in ancient Greek society. He considers that the Aristotelian «utilitarian friendship» (*EN* 1162a2-5 and 1163a33-35) was a masked clientelistic bond¹⁴. In the anthropological literature friendship is regarded as a non-jural, mutual relationship, founded on sentiment between equals. It is «both sentimental in inspiration and instrumental in effects». Any failure to reciprocate in action is considered as a denial of the sentimental reciprocity. However, keeping account of the favours for a friend means that there is a denial of the moral aspect. It may be easier to show equality in affection rather than in material terms. In other words, it is equality of sentiments that counts. The moral equality is important and it is observed even among those who are economically unequal, when disinterestedness is described by both partners more vividly. J. Pitt-Rivers¹⁵ suggested that it is possible to build on these premises a patron–client relationship, in which exchange of protection and prestige, of services and influence is effectuated.

The patron–client links were aiming at ensuring subsistence to the peasant «at the lowest premium possible». To this effect, first, the rela-

¹⁴ Similarly A.R. HANDS, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome*, London 1968, p. 32-33.

¹⁵ *The Kith and the Kin*, in J. GOODY (ed.), *The Character of Kinship*, Cambridge 1973, p. 98.

tionship between patron and client should be perpetuated and, second, a social context should be found in which the clientelistic links should have been fostered. This role was played effectively by «co-membership in a corporate entity or association». In modern Greek society the institution of god-parenthood (through marriage and baptism) is practised to that effect, but in ancient Greece associations of a different kind were used. According to Gallant, associations were formed at a supra-village level and their membership cut across economic strata and class boundaries. The associative activity was focused on different ritual(s), accompanied usually by communal practices. Their structure mimicked kinship. Gallant evokes evidence coming, mainly, from demes, for which he claims that «co-membership in a deme reinforced the bonds of residential solidarity». Accordingly, «the deme provided an ideal venue for elite-peasant contact and for the display of beneficence and patronage by the former not only to the deme as a corporate entity, but to individual members as well». Gallant considers organisations like *phratries*, *orgeones*, and *thiasoi* as groups based on fictive kinship bonds. These links combined with ceremonies created or strengthened the moral obligation to give support in times of crisis. Therefore, Gallant concludes

«Co-membership in associations established a controlled ritualised context, in which elites and non-elites could interact. Accordingly, it is highly likely that when crises arose, peasants would seek their patrons from men of wealth and power in these groups» (p. 162).

Gallant identifies five types of actions that were expected by clients from their patrons; (i) access to the means of production, (ii) provision of seasonal labour, (iii) access to the patron's supplies and gifts, (iv) in case of crisis, supply of food and low interest loan, and (v) remittance of rents and debts.

Gallant's depiction of ancient Athenian society, though challenging, has certain weak points that, in my opinion, invalidate his claim about the link between associations and patronage. I will try to show that Athens was not a proper socio-political setting for the flourishing of patronage and that associations were not the likeliest venue for the construction of such relationships.

I

Gallant claims that out of the four conditions allowing the flourish of patron-client relations only the first is not fully attested in ancient

Athens. I would agree that the first of them is not attested in classical Athens, as well as with the presence of the ideational structure of equality and reciprocity. However, I doubt about the presence of the remaining two pre-conditions.

In particular, it should be underlined that in classical Athens there was no differentiated access to the kind of vital resources mentioned by Gallant, namely land and capital, markets and political power. Theoretically, political power, land and markets were available to all the Athenian citizens as early as the middle of the fifth century B.C. The participation of citizens in the assembly, in the juries, in the *boule*, in their own right and by allotment, made difficult the construction of large and effective networks of clients. However, it would be short sighted to deny the existence of differentiated access to the centres of political authority. Allotment may have been the rule but election was the selective method for the most important posts. There were officers elected by the assembly (e.g. *strategoí*) and the role of the different networks of *philoí* was of utmost importance in securing the election of a candidate.

There were no institutionalised obstacles for the citizens involved in commerce or the cultivation of land. Almost every Athenian owned a plot of land for subsistence farming. Nevertheless, the unequal distribution of wealth in the Athenian society generated inequalities, but these were not allowed to hamper, at least overtly, the exercise of the rights of the Athenian citizen.

In ancient Athens, the principle that access to the above mentioned resources was ascriptive and dependent on criteria such as ethnicity, wealth or juridical status sounds irrelevant, for it is well known that all Athenian citizens were entitled to share these resources; notwithstanding the Solonian classification, which eventually was blurred, there was no distinction among Athenians that could limit their access to essential resources in the fifth century B.C.

Therefore, it seems that from the above mentioned four preconditions, three were not fully present in ancient Athens and consequently, the Athenian polis may not have been a suitable place for the flourishing of patron–client relations.

II

Gallant's approach to associations as a unified conceptual category is challenged by the variety of these groups. There were groups formed by the city-state (demes, tribes), there were cult associations (e.g. *orgeones*,

thiasotai, *eranistai*) and informal groupings (e.g. companions in symposia). Gallant relies mainly on material from demes. Although sometimes similarities and analogies can be traced, there is a significant difference: membership in demes was compulsory and patrilinear; while membership in phratries was patrilinear but its compulsory character is still debated; membership in other cult organisations may have been patrilinear but it was not compulsory. Moreover, the case of demes cannot support the claim of residential solidarity; although the majority of the citizens may have been residents in the deme of their forefathers, some were registered in a different deme from the one in which they were living.

It is misleading to claim that *orgeones* and *thiasoi* were structured on the basis of fictitious kinship. Associations of *orgeones* and *thiasotai* did not trace their origin back to a common ancestor as gene and phratries did. In some cases, associations of *orgeones* were constituted of real kin as in *IG* II² 2355 (a third-century B.C. catalogue of *orgeones* of Asklepios from the deme of Prospalta, consisting of members of five families), and 2344 (a fourth-century list of a phratry, including members from four families).

III

Gallant does not specify whether the city-wide elite or the local elite participated in the functions of cult associations. Prosopographical investigation in the documents of the different cult associations reveals that such celebrities or elite-members as those implied by Gallant were largely unknown or limited. The only wealthy and prominent member I could find among members of cult groups is Ἀντικλῆς Μέμνωνος, nephew of the wealthy Νεοπτόλεμος Ἀντικλέους Μελιτεὺς (*APF* 10652), mentioned also in *Dem.* XVIII 114 and XXI 215. In contrast, the epigraphic evidence concerning the participation of foreigners is abundant.

IV

It seems to be forgotten that Athenian society was not exclusively a peasant society; trades and manufacturing of some articles were also present in the economic life of the city. A large part of these activities was in the hands of metics and other foreigners. The bigger part of the available documentation on cult associations concerns the functions of these groups (*orgeones*, *thiasotai*, *eranistai*), which were active in the port of Peiraeus. One aspect that is often ignored is that those foreign traders and, especially, metics were most likely to be in need of a person to act

as their guarantor and mentor in the new socio-political environment. The case for the existence of clientelistic links between a *prostates* and a metic seems to be likely, though the lack of sufficient evidence reduces this suggestion to mere conjecture¹⁶. The extent of the obligations of a *prostates* is still in debate. The current orthodoxy¹⁷ regards their relationship as lasting and a *prostates* as necessary for the metic's enrolment in a deme's register and the initiation of any legal action, at least till the middle of the fourth century B.C. In particular, this relationship would provide a field of relations not regulated by the city, in which a citizen could act as a broker to ensure that the metic, a person who did not fulfil the ascriptive criteria, enjoyed certain limited resources, which were destined primarily for citizens (e.g. leasing land, access to financial resources, produce). Some of the metics might have come with pre-existing bonds of *xenia*, but the majority of the foreigners might not have had any acquaintances in the host city. In this respect, it seems to me possible that there was plenty of space for the development of lasting, personal, asymmetrical relations between metics and citizens.

V

The often elusive evidence from inscriptions cannot support any claim about patron-client relationship in the context of cult associations. The great bulk of associations' documents in ancient Athens comes from the urban area of Athens and from Peiraeus. There are three instances that might imply a patron-client relationship. These are the following¹⁸:

IG II² 1263 ll. 13-16 (300/299 B.C.): καὶ νῦν διατελεῖ τὰ συν-
φέροντα πράττων καὶ λέγων ὑπὲρ τῶν θιασωτῶν καὶ κοινῇ ἢ
καὶ ἰδίαι ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου

IG II² 1327 ll. 6-7 (178/7 B.C.): καὶ κοινεῖ τοῖς ὀργεῶσιν καὶ ἰδίαι
ἐκάστῳ εὐχρηστον αὐτὸν παρασκευάζων

IG II² 1326 ll. 6-8 (176/5 B.C.): αἰεὶ τινος περὶ [ρ]ώμενος παραίτιος
γίνεσθαι καὶ ἰδίαι καὶ κοινεῖ ἢ [φ]ιλάγαθος ὧ[ν] ἐμ παντὶ
καιρῷ

¹⁶ However, D. WHITEHEAD, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic* (*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, Suppl. IV), Cambridge 1977, p. 146, and A. BISCARDI, *Diritto greco antico*, Milan 1982, p. 89, reject the possibility of considering the relationship between προστάτης and μέτοικος as a clientelistic relation.

¹⁷ See A.R.W. HARRISON, *The Law of Athens*, Oxford 1968, p. 189-193; Ph. GAUTHIER, *Symbola. Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques*, Nancy 1972, p. 132, and D. WHITEHEAD, *op. cit.* (n. 16).

¹⁸ With only one parallel case found in the corpus, a decree of Erechtheis in honour of Antisthenes from the first half of the third century B.C. (*IG II² 1165 ll. 35-36*).

The expression καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίαι, meaning that the honoured person was favourably predisposed to any member of the group or to the group as such, may imply a clientelistic orientation but it is quite vague. A member of an association would have been expected to do everything possible to help any other member of the same group in their capacity as members of the same group. The examples from the literature are not few (e.g. [Lys.] VIII), but can these be considered as patron–client relations?

Instead of an answer I will quote E. Gernell's reservations¹⁹ about the inclusion of small intimate societies in the context of patronage:

«It also seems that small, intimate societies should not be counted as systems of patronage. Such communities are of course familiar with long-term, unsymmetrical relationships, in which incommensurate services and protection are exchanged and accompanied by feelings of loyalty without yet finding formal ratification in a ritual or code ... In a small intimate society, quasi-patronal relations can hardly form a system, either in the sense of forming a larger network, or in the sense of being self-conscious. In larger societies, patronage proper is an ethos: people know that it is a way of doing things amongst others».

VI

The picture drawn by Gallant resembles very much that of Roman society. He fails to take into account the prevalence of political equality within Athenian society, together with the system of liturgies and the state-pay for participation in the administration of justice and in other state functions. Simultaneously, he overestimates the power of the wealth of certain prominent individuals. Athenian peasants (and citizens) were not destitute of any right, and therefore they were not at the mercy of the wealthy. Roman peasants constituted the core of the plebs, a class of citizens without access to political²⁰ or economic power, and to a large extent the pool of supporters for the ambitious patricians. The role of *fides*, for which there is no equivalent Greek term, in the conclusion and development of the clientelistic bond seems to be a unique feature of Roman clientelism. *Collegia* in

¹⁹ *Patrons and Clients*, in E. GERNELL – J. WATERBURY (ed.), *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*, London 1977, p. 3-4.

²⁰ The members of the plebs were voting en bloc. See E.S. STAVELEY, *Greek and Roman Voting and Elections*, London 1972, p. 121.

the Roman Republic and Empire were more actively involved in political life²¹, promoting candidates connected with them and their interests.

VII

Finally, a few words about *φιλία* in Aristotle. Gallant's aphorism about utility friendship as clientelistic link, needs further qualification in regard to the detailed Aristotelian theory of friendship. The different kinds of friendship are the main theme of the ninth book of *Nicomachean Ethics*. As G.M. Signorini²² pointed out, *φιλία*²³ in the world of 'polis' is definitely something more complicated than the modern idea of friendship²⁴. *Φιλία* was an essential part of the civic community. It comprised alliances, solidarity and reciprocities. It can be said that *φιλία* had not only ethical but political and social importance as well. *Φιλία* was considered in antiquity always as a reciprocal relation. The pristine, pure, Christian ideal of unreciprocated *φιλία* would have sounded irrelevant. Aristotle, in a sociological attempt to define *φιλία*, distinguishes between *φιλία* among equals (*EN* 1158b1) and *φιλία* between unequals (*EN* 1162a34-b2). Each of these types is divided into three sub-categories, according to the constituting reason of the relation, i.e. virtue, pleasure and utility (*EN* 1156a5-15). Aristotle assimilates *φιλία* to equality, but he had to take into account these relationships that are not based on the equality of the partners and are called *φιλίαι*. His ideal type of *φιλία*, his archetype, is that based on the virtue of the participants. This relation is the perfect *φιλία* because it includes the other two types of relations and it provides pleasure and usefulness to both partners. Virtuous *φιλία* is permanent and free of any challenges between

²¹ For Roman *collegia* see *CIL* IV 1011 and 787. *Cn. Helvium Sabinum aedilem Isiacy universi rogant* from Pompeii mentioned by J.L. FRANKLIN, *Pompeii: The Electoral Programata, Campaigns and Politics A.D. 71-79 (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, XXVIII)*, Rome 1980, p. 22.

²² *De amicitia. Sul concetto di amicizia nella tipologia aristotelica delle esperienze di rapporto nei libri VIII e IX dell' Etica Nicomachea, Index* 21 (1993), p. 331-333.

²³ The term is usually translated, somewhat unsatisfactorily, as «friendship»; one may consider the non-elegant phrase «interpersonal relation» in order to cover the range of the interactions Aristotle includes in this term as slightly closer to the original meaning.

²⁴ For a review of the sociological theory and research see G. ALLAN, *Friendship. Developing a Sociological Perspective*, London 1989, p. 20 and 50. P. MILLETT, *Lending and Borrowing in Ancient Athens*, Cambridge 1991, p. 109-127, provides a useful summary of the evidence on *φιλία* in classical Athens.

the partners. Aristotle noticed the volatile character of the friendship based only on pleasure or utility (*EN* 1156a19-24, 1157a14-16, 1158b5-7 and 1159b10-15). The relation between equals based on utility does not differ from the exchange of different goods in the market place (*EN* 1158a21) and it is susceptible to claims and recriminations, since both partners claim that they deserve more than they receive (*EN* 1162b5-20). In comparison to Aristotle's ideal *φιλία*, in which one enters for the sake of merit, the other two categories are morally inferior, but, nevertheless, more frequent in the society (*EN* 1158a10-17). However, even in the Aristotelian ideal *φιλία* (*EN* 1156b6-7) there is reciprocity, the individuals exchange their own merit.

Φιλία between unequals based on virtue can be seen between an *ἀγαθός* and a *μοχθηρός*. However, the real problem for Aristotle is how to reconcile the inequality of these relations with the principle that friendship is identical to equality. In this respect, he claims that the reciprocation of what is due is less important than proportionate return (*EN* 1163b12-15). In utility friendships between unequals, the superior should be honoured, a fact which will, eventually, increase his prestige, while his partner at the other end of the spectrum will assure his own survival (*EN* 1163b1-5). The person who is superior in this relationship is expected to be loved rather than to love (*EN* 1158b23-27 and 1159b1-2). If no reciprocation occurs then the exchange resembles a liturgy rather than friendship (*EN* 1163a29-33).

The review of the Aristotelian conception of *φιλία*, on the one hand reveals that Aristotle was aware of the mundane realities of interpersonal relations and on the other hand seems to give credence to Gallant's conclusion. However, Gallant fails to make clear which kind of 'utility' friendship he regards as masked clientelism. He falls short of perceiving that not every asymmetrical relation can be considered as necessarily clientelistic and that some of the features of a clientelistic link are not mentioned by Aristotle, like the permanent or lasting link between client and patron. On the contrary, Aristotle underlines more than once the temporary character of such relations. In a society in which the social morality was delineated by concepts like *λειτουργία*, *χάρις* and *εὐεργεσία*, clientelistic links were incompatible with the dominant idea of citizen. *Φιλίαι*, like their modern counterparts, were used instrumentally and friends offered a variety of services to their friends, expecting return.

Summing up, it seems to me that there is not any high likelihood of any link between cult associations and patron-client relations. Associa-

tions were, and in many respects still are, a favourable context for the development of, often vertical, unsymmetrical, interpersonal relations. Having said that, it does not follow that any a-symmetrical relationship is necessarily clientelistic. In the case of ancient Athens, the political equality of its citizens combined with the state-pay and the system of liturgies made classical Athens an unlikely socio-political setting for clientelism. The local character of most associations and their concentration on Athens and in Peiraeus seem to suggest that clientelistic links were more likely to have been developed between citizens and metics or foreigners.

Oxford OX1 3BG
Bodleian Library

Ilias ARNAOUTOGLOU

CIMONE, IL DISASTRO DI DRABESCO E LA SVOLTA DEMOCRATICA DEL 462/1

A PROPOSITO DI ARISTOTELE, *AP* 27.1*

Nel capitolo 27 dell' *Athenaion Politeia* Aristotele si pone il problema dell' evoluzione in senso democratico della costituzione ateniese in seguito alla svolta del 462/1. Tale evoluzione è vista da Aristotele come un deterioramento, provocato dall' attività dei demagoghi (συνέβαιεν ἀνίεσθαι μᾶλλον τὴν πολιτείαν διὰ τοὺς προθύμους δημαγωγοῦντας). Tentando di collegare la nuova situazione determinatasi in seguito alla caduta del regime 'areopagitico' con una serie di dati oggettivi, Aristotele individua le seguenti motivazioni:

- gli ἐπιεικέστεροι non avevano guida, essendo Cimone giovane ed essendosi egli dedicato tardi alla vita politica (νεώτερον ὄντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὁψὲ προσελθόντα);
- molti ἐπιεικέστεροι erano caduti in guerra, perché le campagne militari, affidate alla guida di strateghi inesperti e scelti solo per le loro glorie familiari, si concludevano generalmente con la perdita di 2000-3000 opliti; poiché il catalogo degli opliti¹ veniva redatto attingendo a quella classe media che costituiva la parte migliore tanto del popolo quanto dei benestanti, in questo modo essa veniva a decadere sul piano demografico, con le relative conseguenze di ordine politico (ἐφθάρθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς κατὰ πόλεμον· τῆς γὰρ στρατείας γιγνομένης ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις ἐκ καταλόγου καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐφισταμένων ἀπειρῶν μὲν τοῦ πολεμεῖν, τιμωμένων δὲ διὰ τὰς πατρικὰς δόξας, αἰεὶ συνέβαιεν τῶν ἐξιόντων ἀνὰ δισχιλίους ἢ τρισχιλίους ἀπόλλυσθαι, ὥστε ἀναλίσκεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν εὐπόρων).

* Abbreviazioni:

ATL III: B.D. MERITT — H.T. WADE-GERY — M.F. MCGREGOR, *The Athenian Tribute Lists III*, Princeton 1950.

A.M. BIRASCHI, *Tradizioni: Tradizioni epiche e storiografia. Studi su Erodoto e Tuciddide*, Perugia 1989.

A.W. GOMME, *HCT I: A Historical Commentary on Thucydides I*, Oxford 1950².

P.J. RHODES, *CommAP: A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford 1981.

¹ Sull' espressione ἐκ καταλόγου v. M.H. HANSEN, *The Number of Athenian Hoplites in 431 B.C.*, *SO* 56 (1981), p. 24 ss.

L'assottigliamento numerico della classe media, unito alla mancanza di un leader politico valido, avrebbe infatti determinato nella politica ateniese un orientamento contrario agli interessi, di natura moderato-conservatrice, della classe oplitica, che non era più in grado di costituire una sufficiente base di consenso per un regime del tipo di quello che era stato in vigore tra le guerre persiane e il 462/1; per converso, esso avrebbe posto in primo piano gli interessi delle classi più basse, che si venivano a trovare in maggioranza numerica e ad avere rappresentanti di ben diversa incisività. Con questa interpretazione, Aristotele propone un collegamento tra situazione demografica ed orientamento politico che caratterizza tutto il settore dell' *Athenaion Politeia* in cui il passo si trova inserito (capitoli 21-27)² e che ritorna, fra l'altro, a 25.1, dove la crescita demografica del *demos* è individuata come presupposto della riforma democratica di Efialte (αὐξανομένου δὲ τοῦ πλήθους, γενόμενος τοῦ δήμου προστάτης Ἐφιάλτης ὁ Σοφωνίδου ...)³.

La testimonianza aristotelica pone una serie di problemi di portata non indifferente, relativi in prima istanza all' inquadramento cronologico e, di conseguenza, all' identificazione dei fatti cui essa fa riferimento. Il passo sembra infatti alludere ad un periodo successivo alla svolta del 462/1, di cui si parla in apertura. Tuttavia esso identifica Cimone come leader dei 'moderati', in un momento in cui il Filaide, alla fine della carriera e alla vigilia dell' ostracismo, difficilmente poteva essere considerato come un punto di riferimento per questa parte politica. Inoltre Cimone è definito νεώτερος, con un' espressione certamente non adatta, dopo il 462/1, a designare un uomo nato intorno al 510⁴ e comun-

² Cfr. in proposito J. DAY — M. CHAMBERS, *Aristotle's History of Athenian Democracy*, Berkeley — Los Angeles 1962, p. 25 ss. e 33 ss.

³ In senso diverso — non crescita numerica, ma aumento di prestigio politico — v. P.J. RHODES, *CommAP*, p. 310-311. Sul rapporto tra crescita della popolazione e democrazia v. anche Aristot., *Polit.* VI 6.5 1320b: τὰς μὲν οὖν δημοκρατίας ὅλως ἢ πολυανθρωπία σώζει.

⁴ J.K. DAVIES, *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.*, Oxford 1971, p. 302. Per i diversi tentativi di sanare il problema cfr. una visione d'insieme in P.J. RHODES, *CommAP*, p. 325-326; v. anche M.A. LEVI, *Commento storico alla Respublica Atheniensium di Aristotele II*, Milano-Varese 1968, p. 261. J.D. SMART, *Kimón's Capture of Eion*, *JHS* 87 (1967), p. 136-138, propone una revisione della cronologia cimoniana sulla base dello spostamento della presa di Eione (prima strategia di Cimone) dal 476/5 al 470/69: in questo caso Cimone sarebbe nato in una data non successiva al 501, invece che intorno al 510. Tale cronologia si accorderebbe con il passo dell' *AP* che si sta discutendo e con Plut., *Cim.* 4.4, in cui Cimone è definito μεῖναιον nel 489 (ma cfr., sull' interpretazione di questo passo, *ATL* III, p. 160). Contro la proposta di spostamento cronologico della presa di Eione v. M. STEINBRECHER, *Der delisch-attische Seebund und die athenisch-spar-*

que — se, come è probabile, l'aggettivo non vuole riferirsi alla giovinezza anagrafica, ma sottintende una mancanza di anzianità 'politica' e quindi una sostanziale inesperienza⁵ — ormai alla fine della carriera. Già questo basterebbe a suscitare perplessità sulla precisione cronologica del capitolo aristotelico, dal momento che le indicazioni fornite sembrano rimandare piuttosto agli anni '70 o alla prima metà degli anni '60, e cioè non agli anni della svolta democratica, ma a quelli del pieno regime cimoniano o 'areopagitico'. Un secondo elemento di perplessità riguarda la segnalazione di gravi perdite oplitiche in occasione di guerre la conduzione delle quali sarebbe stata affidata a strateghi incompetenti, scelti solo in omaggio alle loro gloriose tradizioni familiari (πατρικαὶ δόξαι). Come i riferimenti a Cimone, anche queste notazioni sembrano accordarsi male con la situazione della fine degli anni '60 o dei primi anni '50 del V secolo. Anche se le notizie sulle perdite in guerra che ci sono state conservate per via epigrafica sono troppo scarse⁶, è tuttavia possibile affermare che dopo il 462/1 le perdite più gravi sembrano essersi verificate in Egitto e che dovrebbe trattarsi, in questo caso, di perdite di teti piuttosto che di perdite oplitiche: in questo periodo solo la battaglia di Tanagra — perduta per la defezione della cavalleria tessalica e non certo per l'imperizia dei comandanti ateniesi — e quella dell'Eurimedonte — che però fu una grande vittoria, tale da non potere essere compresa nelle sfortunate imprese ricordate da Aristotele — potrebbero aver provocato perdite oplitiche di una qualche consistenza⁷. Né si comprende come in piena età democratica possa giustificarsi l'accusa di scegliere gli strateghi διὰ τὰς πατρικὰς δόξας piuttosto che in base a criteri di competenza.

Bisogna dunque ammettere la possibilità di uno scompaginamento cronologico nel passo dell'*Athēnaion Politeia* che andiamo considerando: possibilità prospettata del resto da molti studiosi, e ultimamente dal Rhodes⁸. In particolare, l'autorevole commentatore pensa ad una incertezza cronologica — o ad un vero e proprio errore di distribuzione — che

tanischen Beziehungen in der kimonischen Ära (ca. 478/7-462/1) (Palingenesia, 21), Wiesbaden-Stuttgart 1985, p. 37 ss. e nota 110, nonché L. PICCIRILLI, in Plutarco. Vita di Cimone, Milano-Verona 1990, p. 223-224. Una recente proposta di ulteriori aggiustamenti cronologici è stata offerta da R.K. UNZ, The Chronology of the Pentekontaetia, CQ 36 (1986), p. 68-85.

⁵ Così G. RADET, *Νεώτερον ὄντα*, REG 32 (1919), p. 429-432 (sulla base di un convincente confronto con Plat., *Phil.* 13c-d); cfr. K. VON FRITZ — E. KAPP, *Aristotle's Constitution of Athens and Related Texts*, New York 1950, p. 170-171.

⁶ D.W. BRADEEN, *The Athenian Casualty Lists*, CQ N.S. 19 (1969), p. 145-159.

⁷ A.W. GOMME, *HCT* I, p. 310.

⁸ *CommAP*, p. 325.

Aristotele trovava nella sua fonte e riproduceva come tale⁹: il che è certamente possibile. Vorrei in ogni caso far osservare che Aristotele sta cercando di cogliere le caratteristiche generali di un periodo assai ampio, a cavallo della svolta del 462/1, individuandone premesse e conseguenze: non è quindi forse il caso di attendersi una periodizzazione scrupolosa¹⁰. Resta il fatto che il capitolo 26 sembra trovare una più convincente ragion d'essere se riferito, almeno parzialmente, ad un periodo diverso da quello successivo al 462/1.

Torniamo agli elementi cronologici forniti nel passo. Cimone νεώτερος e leader dei moderati ci riporta certamente almeno alla prima metà degli anni '60: è vero che Cimone fu ostracizzato nel 461 e quindi a rigore era ancora attivo dopo la svolta democratica del 462/1, ma non mi sembra possibile identificare *tout court* con la sua *leadership* l'intero periodo successivo alla svolta stessa, mentre gli anni dal 470 al 465 costituiscono l'acme della sua attività, in particolare nell'ambito della politica interna¹¹. Quanto alle perdite, si è accennato alla scarsità delle nostre conoscenze sulla consistenza delle perdite oplitiche nei primi anni '50, caratterizzati da una guerra su più fronti: certo i pochi dati offerti per esempio dalla lista dei caduti della tribù Eretteide (*IG* I² 929), che segnala 177 morti, non necessariamente tutti opliti¹², per tutti i fronti di guerra dell'anno 459/8, non sembrano confortare il drammatico quadro offerto da Aristotele, che parla di 2000-3000 morti per ogni spedizione (αἰεὶ συνέβαινεν τῶν ἐξιόντων ἀνὰ δισχιλίους ἢ τρισχιλίους ἀπόλλυσθαι)¹³. Più probabile — sul piano cronologico come dal punto di vista del contenuto — appare

⁹ P.J. RHODES, *CommAP*, p. 328: si tratterebbe non di Teopompo, ma di un autore del tipo dello Pseudo-Senofonte.

¹⁰ M.A. LEVI. *o.c.* (nota 4), p. 261, esprime il parere che Aristotele voglia riferirsi a «tutte le guerre combattute da quella generazione» a cavallo della svolta democratica, comprese quelle cimoniane.

¹¹ Si veda in particolare il grande programma propagandistico inaugurato con la riletura della conquista di Sciro, nel 470/69 (E. LUPPINO, *I Tessali e Delfi nell'impresa di Cimone a Sciro*, *RIL* 110, 1976, p. 131-141) e con le relative celebrazioni 'teseiche' (S. FUSCAGNI, in *Plutarco. Vita parallele: Cimone*, Milano 1988, p. 117 ss.; A. BLAMIRE, in *Plutarch. Life of Cimon* [*BICS*, 56], London 1989, p. 118 ss.). Sul rapporto con la figura di Teseo cfr. anche G. LOMBARDO, *Cimone*, Roma 1934, p. 74 ss.; L. PICCIRILLI, *o.c.* (nota 4), p. 225-226; T. CERRATO, *Sofocle, Cimone, Antenore e i Veneti*, *Athenaeum* N.S. 63 (1985), p. 167-174; L. BERTELLI - G.F. GIANOTTI, *Teseo tra mito e storia politica: un'Atene immaginaria?*, *Aufidus* 1 (1987), p. 35-58; A.M. BIRASCHI, *Tradizioni*, p. 45 ss.

¹² A.W. GOMME, *HCT* I, p. 311.

¹³ Il problema delle perdite oplitiche torna in Aristot., *Polit.* V 3.6 1303a, ma, a quanto sembra, con un riferimento cronologico diverso: le perdite si sarebbero verificate durante il Λακονικὸς πόλεμος, e cioè, probabilmente, durante la guerra del Peloponneso.

l'ipotesi che Aristotele alluda alle gravi perdite subite da Atene nel corso della spedizione in Egitto¹⁴: ma a parte il fatto, già ricordato, che tali perdite dovrebbero riguardare piuttosto l'ultima classe che non gli opliti, a motivo del carattere precipuamente navale della spedizione, esse, enfatizzate dal Ruschenbusch¹⁵ — che ne trae una serie di conseguenze sulla situazione socio-demografica dell' Atene contemporanea —, sono invece da altri fortemente ridimensionate¹⁶. Pare inoltre difficile collegare la spedizione in Egitto, iniziata con ogni probabilità nel 462¹⁷, con la persona di Cimone: osservazione che vale a maggior ragione per le altre iniziative militari della prima età periclea. Allo stesso modo, sembra improbabile che nella stessa età periclea si scegliessero gli strateghi, secondo una linea di comportamento di marca aristocratica, διὰ τὰς πατρικὰς δόξας, a rischio della vita dei combattenti ateniesi: comportamento che sembra piuttosto giustificarsi sotto il precedente regime areopagitico.

Tutta questa serie di incoerenze ha indotto alcuni studiosi a formulare ipotesi estreme: è il caso di Day e Chambers¹⁸, i quali ritengono, sulla scorta di P. Vinogradoff¹⁹, che l'intero passaggio aristotelico sia da considerare una ricostruzione su basi puramente teoriche e priva di fondamenti storici, collegata agli interessi demografici di Aristotele. Il filosofo cioè tenterebbe di trovare nella storia dell' Atene della prima metà del V secolo una conferma alle proprie teorie, espresse anche nella *Politica*, secondo le quali l'evoluzione politico-costituzionale era profondamente influenzata dal fattore demografico. Questo modo di procedere, tuttavia, sembra contrario al metodo aristotelico, che è piuttosto quello di risalire dall' esperienza alla teorizzazione²⁰, come dimostra il lavoro preparato-

¹⁴ A.W. GOMME, *HCT* I, p. 48; cfr. P.J. RHODES, *CommAP*, p. 328; ma, come notano J. DAY - M. CHAMBERS, *o.c.* (nota 2), p. 29, Aristotele non sembra invece tener conto delle sconfitte navali e delle perdite di teti.

¹⁵ *Athenische Innenpolitik im 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr. Ideologie oder Pragmatismus?*, Bamberg 1979, p. 73 ss., 133 ss., 75-76, 153 ss.

¹⁶ Cfr. la problematica in R. MEIGGS, *The Athenian Empire*, Oxford 1972, p. 104 ss. (cfr. p. 439 ss., 473 ss.), e ora in A.J. HOLLADAY, *The Hellenic Disaster in Egypt*, *JHS* 109 (1989), p. 176-182; altra bibliografia in E. RUSCHENBUSCH, *o.c.*, p. 153 nota 3.

¹⁷ Per questa datazione v. E. LUPPINO, *L'intervento ateniese in Egitto nelle tragedie eschilee*, *Aegyptus* 47 (1967), p. 197-212.

¹⁸ *O.c.* (nota 2), p. 28 ss.

¹⁹ *The Development of Democracy in Aristotle's Treatise on the Athenian Constitution*, *Istoricheskoe Obozrenie* 5 (1892), p. 156-174 (summary in *JAW* 83, 1895, p. 210).

²⁰ R. WEIL, *Aristote et l'histoire. Essai sur la «Politique»*, Paris 1960, p. 87 ss., 181 ss., 311 ss., 417 ss.; cfr., sull' ipotesi di Day e Chambers, le osservazioni di R.W. WALLACE, *La «Politeia» aristotelica e l'«Athenaion Politeia»*, in *L'«Athenaion Politeia» di Aristotele*, a cura di L. PICCIRILLI e L.R. CRESCI, Genova 1993, p. 29-30.

rio alla redazione della *Politica* svolto attraverso la redazione delle *Politeiai*. In realtà, a me pare che l'incongruenza della testimonianza fornita da Aristotele in *AP* 26 si risolva ammettendo la possibilità che essa si riferisca — se non esclusivamente, almeno parzialmente — ad un contesto cronologico diverso e più alto, quello della seconda metà degli anni '60. Questo periodo non verrebbe a coincidere, nel pensiero di Aristotele, *tout court* con l'età cimoniana — che in effetti in *AP* 23.2 appare ben diversamente, e più favorevolmente, caratterizzata —, ma piuttosto con l'ultima parte di essa, introduttiva alla riforma democratica di cui in un certo senso contribuisce a porre le premesse²¹. Aristotele, come accennavo più sopra, sembra qui tentar di individuare le caratteristiche non solo del periodo successivo, ma anche di quello precedente alla svolta democratica, cogliendovi le cause che avrebbero determinato in seguito la decadenza della costituzione: dopo aver individuato la svolta (riforma dell' Areopago) e averne tratteggiato le conseguenze a livello costituzionale (progressiva evoluzione in senso democratico e demagogico), egli tornerebbe insomma all' età precedente per ricercarne le cause più remote (difficoltà dei moderato-conservatori a motivo dell' inconsistenza di Cimone come leader e della crisi demografica della classe oplitica). Ora, per quanto riguarda i riferimenti a Cimone la diversa prospettiva cronologica ipotizzata per il capitolo 26 spiegherebbe in modo più soddisfacente le affermazioni apparentemente sconcertanti di Aristotele: non è inammissibile collocare tra gli inizi e la metà degli anni '60 l'attività di un Cimone ancora 'giovane', cioè politicamente poco esperto per il suo tardo accesso alla politica²², che avrebbe contribuito con errori e debolezze alla perdita di prestigio del raggruppamento moderato-conservatore, ponendo le basi della straordinaria progressione dei democratici che portò, sullo scorcio del decennio, alla svolta democratica. Lo stesso si può dire a proposito del criterio 'aristocratico' adottato nella designazione degli strateghi. Resta da chiedersi se il riferimento alle perdite oplitiche, che avrebbero accelerato il processo togliendo ai conservatori la loro naturale base di consenso, trovi a sua volta, in questo diverso contesto, una più convincente spiegazione.

Diversamente dagli anni successivi al 462/1, gli anni '60 sembrano offrire una giustificazione all' idea aristotelica secondo cui il passaggio

²¹ A.W. GOMME, *HCT* I, p. 310-311: *AP* 23.2 potrebbe riferirsi solo al periodo 480-475 e *AP* 26.1 al decennio 470-460.

²² Subito dopo le guerre persiane Cimone si era in effetti impegnato soprattutto in ambito militare.

alla democrazia radicale sarebbe stato favorito dalla crisi demografica della classe oplitica e dalla contemporanea crescita dei teti: è infatti in questo periodo che si colloca uno dei più gravi rovesci militari subiti da Atene, con una eco nella tradizione che collega tale gravità più con le perdite umane che con le conseguenze politiche. Già il Gomme²³ suggeriva, con un'acuta intuizione che non ha avuto la meritata fortuna, che Aristotele, scrivendo il capitolo 26 dell'*Athenaion Politeia*, pensasse soprattutto — pur senza escludere altri eventuali riferimenti — al disastro di Drabesco, nel 465/4²⁴, quando, a detta di Tuciddide, un numeroso contingente ateniese venne massacrato dai Traci²⁵ dopo aver tentato, in connessione con il tentativo di colonizzazione di Nove Strade, una penetrazione nell'entroterra tracico²⁶. E' importante sottolineare che l'ipotesi di un collegamento della sconfitta di Drabesco con gravi perdite oplitiche non si giustifica soltanto in base ad aleatori criteri di verosimiglianza. Di considerevoli perdite di forze di fanteria, proprio per questo episodio, ci parla infatti Isocrate nel paragrafo 86 del *De pace*. In un contesto generale in cui vengono enumerate le disgrazie militari ateniesi durante la pentecontetia, Isocrate afferma che gli Ateniesi persero a Dato ben 10.000 opliti, propri e degli alleati (ἐν Δάτῳ δὲ μυρίουσιν ὀπλίτας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπώλεσαν); nel successivo paragrafo 87, inoltre, Isocrate ricorda — in significativo accordo con Aristotele — che durante le spedizioni di quest'epoca morivano da 1000 a 2000 soldati per volta (τοὺς κατὰ χιλίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἀποθνήσκοντας: l'espressione fa da contraltare all'aristotelico ἀνὰ δισχιλίους ἢ τρισχιλίους). Il collegamento fra il passo di Isocrate e quello di Aristotele è già stato visto dal Newman²⁷, che tuttavia non sembra averne tratto le necessarie conseguenze. I due passi, più che dipendere l'uno dall'altro, individuano infatti, mi sembra, il medesimo problema: durante la pentecontetia Atene andò incontro a gravi scompensi demografici collegati con pesanti perdite militari²⁸,

²³ HCT I, p. 48 e 296-297.

²⁴ Per la data cfr. ATL III, p. 258 nota 69 (inizio dell'inverno del 465/4) e A. ROVERI, *Note sulla spedizione ateniese contro Taso*, RSA 10 (1980), p. 32 ss. (estate 465).

²⁵ Cfr. A.W. GOMME, HCT I, p. 297.

²⁶ Per le fonti sull'episodio v. Her. IX 75; Thuc. I 100-101 e IV 102; Diod. XI 70.5; Paus. I 29.4-5; Schol. Aesch. II 31.

²⁷ W.L. NEWMAN, *Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens*, CR 5 (1891), p. 160.

²⁸ Aristotele insiste soprattutto sulle perdite oplitiche, perché suo obiettivo primario è quello di spiegare l'evoluzione in senso democratico della costituzione; Isocrate invece ricorda anche i casi dell'Egitto — giova ricordare che, almeno per quanto riguarda

dovute a sconfitte terrestri tra le quali l'episodio di Drabesco sembra assumere un carattere paradigmatico. Si potrà obiettare che Isocrate parla di un disastro militare a Dato e che il riferimento aristotelico è troppo vago per consentire una sicura identificazione. In primo luogo, che Isocrate, parlando di Dato, alluda in realtà proprio all'episodio identificato da Tucidide e dalla tradizione che da lui dipende come disastro di Drabesco risulta chiaramente dal confronto con gli altri dati offerti dalla tradizione. Lo scambio Dato-Drabesco si trova infatti anche in Erodoto (IX 75)²⁹, che probabilmente Isocrate riprende³⁰; mentre l'interscambiabilità fra le due indicazioni toponomastiche, che sembrano appunto identificare il medesimo episodio, è confermata dal confronto con Pausania (I 29.4-5), che, parlando della stele in memoria dei morti di Drabesco, ricorda gli strateghi Sofane e Leagro, a loro volta menzionati nel passo erodoteo come vittime degli Edoni a Dato. Sempre nel senso di un riferimento dell'indicazione isocratea all'episodio di Drabesco indirizza del resto, se ce ne fosse bisogno, il dato di 10.000 caduti, anche se Isocrate sembra qui fraintendere il significato della cifra tradizionale e confondere il numero degli opliti ateniesi morti nel tentativo di penetrazione nell'entroterra con il numero complessivo dei coloni di Nove Strade³¹. Il riferimento isocrateo a Drabesco è dunque, io credo, assolutamente sicuro. Quanto poi ad Aristotele, il fatto che Isocrate identifichi con ogni evidenza Drabesco come il più grave episodio di perdite oplitiche nel corso della pentecontetia e che insista sulle migliaia di vite umane perdute in termini molto vicini ad Aristotele sembra indirizzare all'ipotesi che i due autori stiano pensando al medesimo caso: un caso che aveva ormai assunto, in relazione al problema demografico e alle sue diverse implicazioni, carattere para-

l'Egitto, il rilievo isocrateo conferma che negli anni '50 la risonanza demografica delle sconfitte doveva riguardare prevalentemente l'ultima classe — e di Cipro come sconfitte navali apportatrici di perdite negli equipaggi.

²⁹ Cfr. A.M. BIRASCHI, *Tradizioni*, p. 74.

³⁰ Così T. CERRATO, *o.c.* (nota 11), p. 170 nota 13; cfr. A.E. RAUBITSCHKE, *Two Notes on Isocrates*, *TAPhA* 22 (1941), p. 362 ss.

³¹ Sul problema cfr. *ATL* III, p. 106 ss. e D. ASHERI, *Studio sulla storia della colonizzazione di Anfipoli sino alla conquista macedone*, *RFIC* 95 (1967), p. 15 ss., il quale, basandosi sul significato tecnico di comunità di rinforzo coloniaro con funzioni di presidio militare — una sorta di 'cleruchia simulata' — che egli identifica nel termine *epoikia* (cfr. *ibid.*, p. 10 ss.), pare incline ad ammettere che 10.000 potesse essere effettivamente il numero complessivo degli *epoikoi* ateniesi. Il collegamento dell'episodio con l'iscrizione *IG* I² 928, contenente una lista di caduti, è incerto (a favore si esprimono comunque *ATL* III, p. 108 ss. e A.W. GOMME, *HCT* I, p. 296-297): in ogni caso essa è troppo incompleta per fornirci dati di qualche utilità in rapporto al nostro problema.

digmatico, e che doveva pertanto presentarsi ad Aristotele o alla sua fonte come principale riferimento nell'ambito di questa problematica. Una ulteriore conferma è offerta dal fatto che in Isocrate e in Aristotele si trova il medesimo errore di prospettiva cronologica: se Aristotele sembra collocare la vicenda dopo il 462/1, mentre essa è sicuramente anteriore di circa tre anni, Isocrate da parte sua propone una sequenza di fatti — spedizione d'Egitto, campagna di Cipro, disastro di Drabesco — che denuncia una evidente esitazione cronologica e che sembra ambientare quest'ultimo episodio — in realtà il più antico dei tre ricordati — in pieni anni '50. In entrambi gli autori dunque il riferimento a Drabesco varrebbe ad evocare i problemi demografico-politici dell'intero periodo a cavallo della svolta del 462/1.

Se l'ipotesi che Aristotele si riferisca, nel capitolo 26 dell'*Athenaion Politeia*, all'episodio di Drabesco — forse non in senso esclusivo, ma comunque avendo in mente in prima istanza quella sfortunata impresa, con le sue vaste conseguenze di natura socio-demografica e politica —, coglie nel segno, non si può fare a meno di notare come il contesto del passaggio aristotelico ne risulti ulteriormente connotato in senso fortemente polemico verso Cimone. Già criticato come leader debole ed inefficiente, incapace di assicurare prestigio alla parte moderata, ulteriori riserve nei suoi confronti derivano dalla collocazione sotto la sua *leadership* della sconsiderata impresa tracica. Tale impresa, che accorpava la colonizzazione di Nove Strade ad un tentativo di ulteriore penetrazione nell'interno³², sarebbe fallita per motivi diversi, tra i quali viene sottolineato l'affidamento, secondo la tradizione aristocratica, a strateghi di illustre ascendenza³³ ma incompetenti — forse Sofane e Leagro, ricordati da

³² Dietro la colonizzazione di Nove Strade va riconosciuto un articolato progetto di insediamento coloniale in Tracia e sulla Via degli Stretti, collegato con la campagna militare nel Chersoneso e la presa di Eione e caratterizzato da un numero assai elevato di coloni: cfr. M. STEINBRECHER, *o.c.* (nota 4), p. 87 e più dettagliatamente A. ROVERI, *RSA* 10 (1980), p. 40 ss.; cfr. anche L. BOFFO, *Cimone e gli alleati di Atene*, *RIL* 109 (1975), p. 449, e già G. LOMBARDO, *o.c.* (nota 11), p. 62 ss.; cfr. *ATL* III, p. 258-259, secondo cui il progetto coloniale fu la causa della rivolta di Taso e i coloni furono portati in Tracia dalla flotta che si dirigeva a reprimere la ribellione dell'isola; in questo senso anche A. ROVERI, *ibid.*, p. 40, che la ritiene causata dall'annuncio del progetto coloniale. Il progetto si pone anch'esso in un'epoca in cui la necessità di alleggerire la pressione demografica e socio-politica doveva essere molto forte. Le prime fasi della politica imperialistica e coloniale sembrano pertanto guidate da necessità di intervento sulla situazione socio-politica interna o perlomeno collegate con problemi di tale natura.

³³ Per la possibilità di un'allusione a Cimone stesso cfr. A.W. GOMME, *HCT* I, p. 48; P.J. RHODES, *CommAP*, p. 327-328.

Erodoto e da Pausania³⁴ — e avrebbe determinato così la perdita di un numero consistente di opliti: di qui la grave responsabilità di Cimone, fortemente sottolineata da Aristotele, nell' avviare o comunque nell' incoraggiare il processo di deterioramento della *politeia* ateniese in senso democratico, processo che come leader dei moderati sarebbe stato invece suo compito arginare. Ora, tracce di tale polemica sulla colonizzazione di Nove Strade e sul successivo disastro emergono anche altrove, negli immediati riflessi contemporanei dell' episodio come nella tradizione storiografica³⁵. Lo stesso numero di 10.000 partecipanti all' impresa di Nove Strade e di Drabesco, che ritorna nelle fonti in senso diverso (come numero complessivo ora dei coloni indipendentemente dalla loro provenienza, ora dei soli soldati e coloni ateniesi, ora dei caduti sotto l'attacco degli Edoni), è parso così elevato ad alcuni dei moderni da indurre a ricercarne l'origine nella propaganda anticimoniana³⁶, propaganda che avrebbe fortemente accentuato il prezzo in vite umane — in questo caso non soltanto di opliti — della fallimentare impresa tracica. Come ho rilevato in altra sede, il numero elevato dei coloni coinvolti nell' impresa potrebbe spiegarsi anche con la volontà di intervenire sulla situazione demografica ateniese con una iniziativa coloniale capace di allontanare da Atene un numero consistente di teti, all' epoca in forte ascesa³⁷: il dato acquisirebbe allora una sua validità sullo sfondo della situazione contemporanea. Ma senza entrare ora nel tema dell' attendibilità della cifra, è

³⁴ Per Leagro cfr. J.K. DAVIES, *o.c.* (nota 4), p. 90 ss.; rilievi assai interessanti in E. CULASSO GASTALDI, *Le lettere di Temistocle II. Il problema storico. Il testimone e la tradizione*, Padova 1990, p. 110 ss. Sull' estrazione sociale di Sofane non risulta nulla: bisogna però osservare che Plut., *Cim.* 8.1, parlando del suo contrasto con Milziade a proposito degli onori relativi alla battaglia di Maratona (cfr. A.M. BIRASCHI, *Tradizioni*, p. 67 ss.), presenta il suo intervento antifilaide come «gradito al popolo», il che sembra collocarlo fuori della tradizione aristocratica. Giova forse ricordare che Schol. Aesch. II 31, ricordando il disastro di Drabesco, parla di «cleruchi di Leagro», collegando la fallita iniziativa soprattutto con il nome dell' aristocratico figlio di Glaucone e ignorando la presenza di Sofane: il che, ferme restando le riserve sul valore della testimonianza dello scolio, potrebbe non esser privo di significato e rivelare un filone della tradizione che, nella linea del capitolo 26 dell' *Athenaion Politeia*, insisteva particolarmente sul collegamento polemico del fallimento di Drabesco con la presenza di uomini di estrazione aristocratica.

³⁵ Il processo che colpì Cimone all' indomani di Taso e che, al di là delle accuse pretestuose degli avversari, sembra strettamente collegato ai contraccolpi del disastro tracico (v. infra, nota 43), determinò una vivace reazione anticimoniana, sulle cui tracce nella tradizione v. le interessanti osservazioni della A.M. BIRASCHI, *Tradizioni*, p. 67 ss.

³⁶ A.M. BIRASCHI, *Tradizioni*, p. 74.

³⁷ Cfr. C. BEARZOT, *Motivi socio-demografici nella colonizzazione ateniese del V secolo*, in *Coercizione e mobilità umana nel mondo antico* (CISA, 20), in corso di stampa, per i riferimenti bibliografici e i dettagli della problematica.

certo che le considerevoli perdite umane, non soltanto di opliti ma anche di teti, sembrano aver giocato, nella polemica sulla valutazione della politica di Cimone nel corso degli anni '60, un ruolo di primo piano.

E' possibile, sulla base di questi rilievi, tentare di caratterizzare la fonte di Aristotele, che sembra conservare tratti caratteristici, e di diversa natura, del dibattito contemporaneo su Cimone? Secondo il Gomme il passo aristotelico risentirebbe fortemente della tradizione teopompea — com'è noto, Teopompo era molto interessato agli aspetti interni della politica cimoniana —, che a sua volta conserverebbe tracce di importanti fonti contemporanee, come Stesimbrotto e Ione³⁸; il Levi e il Rhodes pensano invece piuttosto ad una fonte oligarchica di ambiente ateniese, fortemente polemica verso la democrazia, di ispirazione simile a quella dello Pseudo-Senofonte³⁹. Tuttavia la presenza di una tendenza antidemocratica — quale sarebbe comunque, se pur in grado diverso, quella identificata dai due filoni cui si è accennato — costituisce a mio parere solo una delle caratteristiche della fonte di Aristotele, perché il passo presenta anche una polemica verso i leader aristocratici (prima di tutto lo stesso Cimone, ma anche gli altri 'strateghi incompetenti', da identificare forse con Sofane e Leagro) che rivela la presenza di un filone diverso, questa volta di marca democratica. La cosa non può stupire, perché un filone democratico è sicuramente presente in questi capitoli dell' *Athenaion Politeia*⁴⁰, come rivela fra l'altro la versione dell' episodio dell' assassinio di Efialte fornito a 25.4⁴¹. Il capitolo 26 lascia dunque emergere una duplice tendenza, che rivela l'accostamento di due filoni della tradizione, uno democratico e uno conservatore: è significativo che entrambi siano comunque caratterizzati da un orientamento poco favorevole nei confronti di Cimone⁴². L'analogia di impostazione conferma che entrambe le parti politiche cui tali filoni fanno capo avevano rimproveri da muovere al Filaide in relazione alla politica da lui

³⁸ HCT I, p. 48 e 310-311. Per il giudizio di Aristotele su Cimone e il suo rapporto con le valutazioni teopompee v. C. FERRETTO, *La città dissipatrice. Studi sull' excursus del decimo libro dei 'Philippika' di Teopompo*, Genova 1984, p. 40 ss.

³⁹ M.A. LEVI, *o.c.* (nota 4), p. 261; P.J. RHODES, *CommAP*, p. 328.

⁴⁰ P.J. RHODES, *CommAP*, p. 311.

⁴¹ P.J. RHODES, *CommAP*, p. 322; C. BEARZOT, *La costituzione beotica nella propaganda degli oligarchici ateniesi del 411*, in *Actes du Colloque 'La Béotie antique'* (Lyon — St. Etienne 16-21 mai 1983), Paris 1985, p. 219-226.

⁴² Sulla scarsa simpatia della tradizione, comunque orientata, nei confronti di Cimone, v. G. LOMBARDO, *o.c.* (nota 11), p. 143 ss., in particolare p. 148 ss. per la tradizione non democratica (su cui anche A.M. BRASCHI, *Tradizioni*, p. 67 ss.). Interessanti rilievi sulla tradizione pro- e anticimoniana in L. PICCIRILLI, *o.c.* (nota 4), p. IX ss. e XXXV—XXXVI; C. FERRETTO, *o.c.* (nota 38), p. 35 ss.

svolta verso la metà degli anni '60: i conservatori per aver favorito la svolta democratica provocando fra l'altro la perdita di opliti, i democratici per il tentativo di mantenere in vita il regime areopagitico e anche per l'allontanamento in massa di teti, che sembra da collegare con l'impresa coloniale di Nove Strade e che va inteso in senso sicuramente convergente rispetto al precedente obiettivo. A questo proposito merita forse una riconsiderazione il processo per tradimento subito da Cimone dopo la campagna di Taso — con ogni probabilità da rapportare fra l'altro, come è stato da più parti notato⁴³, anche ai 'contraccolpi psicologici' di Drabesco — che una curiosa testimonianza di Demostene (XXIII 205) collega con un' accusa di tentato abbattimento della *patrios politeia*: esso potrebbe infatti avere in qualche modo a che fare con i contenuti di questa polemica. L'accusa di attaccare la *patrios politeia* — cioè la democrazia⁴⁴ — potrebbe essere intesa in rapporto con la questione areopagitica: i democratici identificavano Cimone, sostenitore del regime areopagitico, come un traditore della *patrios politeia* democratica, che la riforma si proponeva, almeno a livello di propaganda, di restaurare⁴⁵. Ma forse l'accusa può spie-

⁴³ S. FUSCAGNI, in *o.c.* (nota 11), p. 203-204 nota 96 (anche per le fonti sulla vicenda processuale); anche T. CERRATO, *o.c.* (nota 11), p. 170. Interessanti in particolare i rilievi della A.M. BIRASCHI, *Tradizioni*, p. 73 ss.: lo scolio ad Elio Aristide (III, p. 446 Dindorf), che parla di un' accusa di Pericle a Cimone ἐπὶ Σκύρω τῇ νήσῳ e che sembra contenere un errore (Sciuro per Taso), potrebbe alludere ad uno dei diversi aspetti del processo subito da Cimone e riferirsi al fallito tentativo di colonizzazione di Nove Strade (taciuto significativamente da Plut., *Cim.* 14.1-2, che, in un contesto fortemente elogiativo verso Cimone, preferisce sottolineare la successiva vittoria di Taso, ma ricordato da Erodoto e da Tuciddide: cfr. A. ROVERI, *RSA* 10, 1980, p. 29 e T. CERRATO, *o.c.*, p. 170 nota 13). Tale accusa potrebbe essere collegata con lo sviluppo di tradizioni anticimoniane, sia di ambito mitico (tradizioni ostili all' eroe 'filaide' Teseo) sia di ambito storico (la tradizione su Sofane di Decelea). Sull' atmosfera anticimoniana all' indomani di Drabesco cfr. anche F. JACOBY, *Patrios Nomos: State Burial in Athens and the Public Cemetery in the Kerameikos*, *JHS* 64 (1944), p. 51 ss.

⁴⁴ A. FUKS, *The Ancestral Constitution. Four Studies in Greek Party Politics at the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, London 1953, p. 51 nota 41. Per il dibattito sul significato dell' accusa demostenica a Cimone v. C. PETROCELLI, *Un nuovo dato per la biografia cimoniana*, *QS* 6 (1980), p. 383-392; *contra* L. PICCIRILLI, *Demostene e il processo di Cimone*, *CCC* 5 (1984), p. 23-32 (= *Temistocle, Aristide, Cimone, Tuciddide di Melesia fra politica e propaganda*, Genova 1987, p. 81 ss.); R.A. BAUMAN, *Political Trials in Ancient Athens*, London-New York 1990, p. 28 ss.

⁴⁵ M. SORDI, *Atene e Sparta dalle guerre persiane al 462/1*, *Aevum* 50 (1976), p. 41 nota 61; altra bibliografia e problemi in C. BEARZOT, *Sul significato del divieto di ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος λέγειν in sede areopagitica*, *Aevum* 64 (1990), p. 47-55; EAD., *Ancora sulle Eumenidi di Eschilo e la riforma di Efialte (In margine ad una pagina di Chr. Meier)*, *Prometheus* 18 (1992), p. 27-35. Sul programma cimoniano di valorizzazione degli opliti, anche in ambito navale, che sembra doversi dedurre dall' episodio narrato in Plut., *Cim.* 5.10, cfr. S. FUSCAGNI, in *o.c.* (nota 11), p. 103 ss.

garsi anche in riferimento al problema demografico, sul quale il disastro di Drabesco aveva avuto, in due sensi diversi, una pesante risonanza. Se da una parte i conservatori accusavano Cimone, come si è visto, di aver provocato una diminuzione del numero degli opliti e quindi una progressione politico-costituzionale in senso democratico⁴⁶, dall' altra i democratici gli rimproveravano l'intervento coloniale mirante ad abbassare in modo consistente il numero dei teti e ad impedire dunque, attraverso la sensibile riduzione della sua base di consenso, la piena attuazione di quella democrazia che i suoi fautori andavano rivendicando appunto come *patrios*.

La caduta di popolarità di Cimone alla fine della carriera, la stessa che lo condusse al processo e all' ostracismo, appare dunque collegata anche con le responsabilità che, da parti diverse, gli venivano ascritte a proposito dell'impresa di Nove Strade e delle sue diverse conseguenze, politiche, militari, demografiche e, infine, costituzionali. Non sembra pertanto casuale che nel capitolo 26 dell' *Athenaion Politeia* Aristotele, attingendo ad una complessa tradizione contemporanea — raccolta da una fonte la cui identificazione con Teopompo, sempre pronto a farsi portavoce delle critiche di diversa origine rivolte a uomini politici ateniesi, mi sembra degna di considerazione —, colleghi la sua polemica anticimoniana proprio con quell' episodio chiave. A mio parere, l'ipotesi che Aristotele alluda a questo episodio va ritenuta dunque a questo punto assai probabile, vuoi per la necessità di sanare un evidente scompenso cronologico, vuoi per l'analogia con i contenuti della parallela menzione isocratea, vuoi per il collegamento con le vicende conclusive della carriera di Cimone.

I-20131 Milano

Cinzia BEARZOT

Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore

⁴⁶ E forse l'accusa di abbattere la *patrios politeia* era funzionale anche a questo filone polemico, nel contesto delle reciproche riappropriazioni del concetto da parte delle diverse fazioni: cfr. S.A. CECCHIN, *Πάτριος πολιτεία. Un tentativo propagandistico durante la guerra del Peloponneso*, Torino 1969, p. 85 ss. In generale sul problema della *patrios politeia* v. bibliografia e problemi in E. RUSCHENBUSCH, ΠΑΤΡΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ. *The-seus, Drakon, Solon und Kleisthenes in Publizistik und Geschichtsschreibung des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.*, *Historia* 7 (1958), p. 398-424; M.I. FINLEY, *The Ancestral Constitution*, Cambridge 1971 (trad. it. in *Uso e abuso della storia*, Torino 1981, p. 39-83); K.R. WALTERS, *The Ancestral Constitution and Fourth-Century Historiography in Athens*, *AJAH* 1 (1976), p. 129-144; C. MOSSÉ, *Le thème de la patrios politeia dans la pensée grecque du IV^e siècle*, *Eirene* 16 (1978), p. 81-89; J. BORDES, *Politeia dans la pensée grecque jusqu'à Aristote*, Paris 1982, p. 342 ss.

I MERCENARI NELLA POLITICA ATENIESE DELL' ETÀ DI ALESSANDRO*

PARTE I

SOLDATI E UFFICIALI MERCENARI ATENIESI AL SERVIZIO DELLA PERSIA

Lo studio della spedizione asiatica di Alessandro non può mai prescindere dalle questioni inerenti ai complessi rapporti tra il sovrano macedone e il mondo greco della madrepatria, non solo perché egli, come capo della Lega di Corinto, era formalmente alla testa di un esercito panellenico, ma anche perché nell' esercito persiano era presente un gran numero di mercenari greci che ne costituivano uno dei nuclei più agguerriti e pericolosi¹.

In un mio precedente lavoro², nel quale mi sono occupata dell' atteggiamento di Alessandro nei confronti dei mercenari, sono arrivata alla conclusione che egli diffidava profondamente dei soldati di professione, tanto che all' inizio utilizzava le poche truppe mercenarie al seguito del suo esercito solo per compiti di guarnigione e/o di retroguardia e le teneva sempre sotto stretto controllo macedone, visto che esse erano

* Abbreviazioni:

C. BEARZOT, *Focione tra storia e trasfigurazione ideale*, Milano 1984.

H. BERVE, *AR: Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, 2 vol., München 1926.

J.K. DAVIES, *APF: Athenian Propertied Families, 600–300 B.C.*, Oxford 1971.

J. KIRCHNER, *PA: Prosopographia Attica*, 2 vol., Berlin 1901-1903.

H.W. PARKE, *Soldiers: Greek Mercenary Soldiers from the Earliest Times to the Battle of Ipsus*, Oxford 1933.

A. SCHÄFER, *Demosthenes: Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, 3 vol., Leipzig 1885-1887² (= Hildesheim 1967).

W. WILL, *Athen: Athen und Alexander. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Stadt von 338 bis 322 v.Chr.*, München 1983.

¹ Per una sintesi recente e un' ampia bibliografia delle questioni militari inerenti alla spedizione di Alessandro, cfr. A.B. BOSWORTH, *Conquest and Empire. The Reign of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 1988, p. 259-277. Per quanto riguarda la cronologia di questa ricerca, si fa presente che tutte le date, salvo diversa indicazione, devono essere considerate avanti Cristo.

² F. LANDUCCI GATTINONI, *L'emigrazione forzata dei mercenari di Alessandro in Asia*, in AA.VV., *Immigrazione e emigrazione nel mondo antico (CISA, 21)*, in corso di stampa.

comandate da esperti ufficiali macedoni, che erano responsabili della loro disciplina³.

Quando, però, dopo la sconfitta di Dario, Alessandro dovette arruolare molti dei mercenari che erano stati al servizio della Persia, mirò ad insidiarli in lontane regioni orientali, anche contro la loro stessa volontà, rendendo così operative le tesi espresse negli anni precedenti da Isocrate, che più volte, nell sue opere, denunciando le bande mercenarie attive nel IV secolo come un pericolo mortale per la sicurezza delle *poleis* greche, aveva auspicato il definitivo allontanamento di questi soldati di professione dalla Grecia⁴.

Ma dato che dall' analisi di questa problematica sono scaturiti molteplici riferimenti alla vita politica del mondo greco, in generale, e di Atene, in particolare, credo sia opportuno domandarsi se sia esistito e quale, eventualmente, sia stato il ruolo che nella città attica giocarono quei cittadini che, per motivi ancora tutti da indagare, avevano scelto di diventare mercenari.

La focalizzazione dell' attenzione su Atene è dovuta al fatto che su di essa possediamo una ricca documentazione, letteraria ed epigrafica, e che, nonostante tutto, essa era ancora la *polis* più rappresentativa della civiltà ellenica, ormai incapace di sottrarsi al crescente strapotere macedone.

In quest' ottica è necessario, in primo luogo, isolare, nel contesto delle fonti su Alessandro, le notizie relative agli Ateniesi presenti tra i mercenari in Asia, per vedere se sono individuabili personaggi già noti per la loro attività nella vita politica cittadina.

Solo in caso di riscontri positivi diventerebbe possibile analizzare la posizione di questi personaggi all' interno della *polis*, inquadrandoli nelle dinamiche politiche che caratterizzarono Atene prima della definitiva sottomissione ai Macedoni, imposta da Antipatro alla città alla fine della cosiddetta guerra lamiaca, dopo la morte di Alessandro.

La scarsa importanza data da Alessandro ai mercenari presenti nel suo esercito fin dall' inizio della spedizione si riflette anche nelle fonti, che accennano sempre in maniera generica a questo gruppo di soldati, indicandoli con i due termini di ξένοι e di μισθοφόροι⁵, senza specificare mai né il loro luogo di origine, né il nome dei loro uomini più rappre-

³ Cfr., e.g., Arr., *Anab.* I 18.1, 18.4, 23.6; II 5.1.

⁴ Cfr., e.g., Isocr. IV 115, 168; V 96, 120-121; VIII 44-46; *Epist.* IX 9-10.

⁵ Sulla netta distinzione tra i due termini, ipotizzata da H. BERVE, *AR* I, p. 144-145, cfr. le fondate contestazioni di H.W. PARKE, *Soldiers*, p. 188-189, e di G.T. GRIFFITH, *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World*, Cambridge 1935 (= Groningen 1968), p. 29-30.

sentativi⁶; riferimenti più puntuali ci sono, invece, nei riguardi delle truppe mercenarie al servizio di Dario, non solo e non tanto sulla loro origine, quanto piuttosto sull' identità dei loro comandanti.

Che il nucleo forte dei mercenari di Dario fosse costituito da Greci, è esplicitamente affermato dalle fonti a proposito di tutte le grandi battaglie tra Macedoni e Persiani⁷, mentre della loro temibilità era consapevole anche Alessandro che, nel discorso attribuitogli da Arriano prima della battaglia di Isso⁸, per rincuorare i contingenti greci della Lega di Corinto schierati al suo fianco, sottolinea che i Greci al soldo della Persia, combattendo ἐπὶ μισθῷ, avrebbero combattuto meno valorosamente di loro che lottavano ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος⁹.

In realtà, secondo Plutarco¹⁰, al Granico i mercenari greci combattono con disperato coraggio, infliggendo pesanti perdite ai Macedoni, e questa notizia, pur ignorata dalle altre fonti, sembra indirettamente confermata dall' ira mostrata nei loro confronti da Alessandro, che proprio dopo la battaglia del Granico mandò ai lavori forzati in Macedonia i mercenari greci caduti prigionieri, poiché avevano combattuto ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων¹¹.

Proprio a proposito di questi prigionieri deportati in Macedonia, noi siamo informati della presenza tra i mercenari di cittadini ateniesi: durante la sosta a Gordio, infatti, Alessandro ricevette una ambasceria ateniese, appositamente inviata per richiedere la liberazione dei concittadini in catene in Macedonia¹².

Il sovrano rifiutò di accondiscendere a tale richiesta, ma promise che ci avrebbe ripensato quando le circostanze fossero state più favorevoli: cosa che puntualmente si verificò due anni dopo, a Tiro, quando una seconda ambasceria, giunta a bordo della trireme sacra Paralia, ottenne il rilascio di tutti gli Ateniesi prigionieri¹³.

⁶ La totale anonimità dei mercenari di Alessandro dipende in gran parte dal fatto che noi in genere dei vari reparti conosciamo solo il nome dei comandanti ed essi non erano guidati da mercenari come loro, ma da ufficiali macedoni, imposti loro dal sovrano (cfr. supra p. 33-34).

⁷ Granico: Arr., *Anab.* I 14.4; Plut., *Alex.* 16.12-15. Isso: Arr., *Anab.* II 8.6; Curt. III 2.9. Gaugamela: Diod. XVII 73.2; Arr., *Anab.* III 16.2; Curt. V 8.3.

⁸ Arr., *Anab.* III 7.4.

⁹ Sul minore coraggio dei mercenari rispetto ai soldati-cittadini che combattono per la patria, cfr. anche Arist., *Nic. Eth.* III 1116 b 15.

¹⁰ Plut., *Alex.* 16.12-15.

¹¹ Arr., *Anab.* I 16.6; Plut., *Reg. et imper. apophtheg.* 181 a-b.

¹² Arr., *Anab.* I 29.5-6; la stessa notizia anche in Curt. III 1.9.

¹³ Arr., *Anab.* III 6.2; Curt. IV 8.12.

In base all' insistenza con la quale gli Ateniesi richiesero la liberazione dei loro concittadini, il Faraguna¹⁴ ha ipotizzato che il loro numero fosse piuttosto consistente, anche se noi con certezza sappiamo soltanto che i prigionieri ateniesi dovevano essere meno di duemila, perché Arriano dà questa cifra come totale dei deportati in Macedonia¹⁵: a mio avviso, però, qualunque fosse il numero dei prigionieri, la decisione degli Ateniesi di intercedere presso Alessandro a favore dei propri concittadini, che, secondo il sovrano macedone avevano tradito la causa dell' Ellade¹⁶, indicava, comunque, la volontà della *polis* di non rinnegare quegli uomini, ma di considerarli parte viva e importante del corpo civico.

Ciononostante, poiché nessuna fonte accenna esplicitamente a eventuali reazioni di Atene di fronte al rifiuto di Alessandro di liberare i deportati, potremmo concludere che gli Ateniesi chinarono il capo dinanzi al diktat del Macedone, nella speranza di riuscire in seguito a convincerlo a recedere dalla sua posizione¹⁷.

Dato, però, che le fonti storiografiche sono estremamente reticenti sulla situazione politica della città in questo periodo¹⁸, bisogna utilizzare i pochi riferimenti a noi noti, senza forzarne il significato, ma anche senza sottovalutarne la portata: penso, in particolare, alla cattura, da parte del Macedone, subito dopo Isso, di un gruppo di ambasciatori greci, tra i quali spicca la figura dell' ateniese Ificrate, figlio dell' omonimo generale che, nella prima metà del IV secolo aveva valorizzato l'importanza dei peltasti nello schieramento dell' esercito¹⁹.

La presenza di un personaggio di questo calibro presso Dario in qualità, non di mercenario, ma di ambasciatore, non può non indicare l'esistenza di una decisione ufficiale del governo ateniese di mantenere contatti con il sovrano di Persia: mentre Curzio non specifica il momento dell' arrivo in Asia di questi ambasciatori, l'affermazione di Arriano,

¹⁴ M. FARAGUNA, *Atene nell' età di Alessandro*, MAL s. IV, vol. II, fasc. 2 (1992), p. 247 nota 6 e p. 254-255; *contra*, W. WILL, *Athen*, p. 63-66.

¹⁵ Arr., *Anab.* I 29.5: (gli Ateniesi) τότε ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ξὺν τοῖς δισχιλίοις δεδεμένοι ἦσαν.

¹⁶ Arr., *Anab.* II 16.6.

¹⁷ Mi sembra questa la posizione di M. FARAGUNA, *art. cit.* (nota 14), p. 254-256, mentre più articolata è quella di W. WILL, *Athen*, p. 60-77 e opposta quella di M. SORDI, *L'orazione pseudo-demostenica «Sui patti con Alessandro» e l'atteggiamento dei Greci prima di Isso*, in AA.VV., *Alessandro Magno tra storia e mito*, Milano 1984, p. 23-30.

¹⁸ Cfr M. SORDI, *art. cit.*, p. 23-30.

¹⁹ Arr., *Anab.* II 15.3-5; Curt. III 13.15.

che essi avevano raggiunto Dario prima della battaglia²⁰, autorizza l'ipotesi che il loro invio fosse stato deciso nei mesi precedenti lo scontro di Isso, cioè proprio quando gli Ateniesi avevano dovuto subire il rifiuto della liberazione dei loro prigionieri²¹.

Se, poi, come è stato autorevolmente sostenuto di recente²², fosse veramente databile al 333 la XVII orazione del *corpus* demostenico, *Sul trattato con Alessandro*, normalmente considerata spuria, avremmo una ulteriore conferma dell'esistenza in Atene di una aperta ostilità ad Alessandro nel periodo immediatamente precedente alla battaglia di Isso.

In effetti, una datazione al 333 dell'opera pseudo-demostenica offre una coerente collocazione cronologica alle molteplici argomentazioni sostenute dal retore, in particolare a quelle che sottolineano le difficoltà incontrate sul mare dai Macedoni, che, secondo l'autore, avevano quasi perduto il dominio del mare per la loro insipienza²³ ed erano stati costretti a chiedere agli Ateniesi il permesso di costruire navi al Pireo²⁴: nel 333, infatti, Alessandro si trovava quasi senza navi, perché aveva sciolto la flotta greca che lo aveva accompagnato nello sbarco in Asia²⁵ e, per affrontare l'offensiva scatenata dai Persiani nell'Egeo, fu costretto ad incaricare Egeloco della ricostruzione di una flotta²⁶, mentre Antipatro, reggente di Macedonia, ordinava a Protea di fare altrettanto²⁷.

Ma allora dobbiamo domandarci perché l'autore di questa orazione, scrivendo nel 333, non abbia elencato, tra le molte malefatte di Alessandro, anche quella di aver deportato in Macedonia i mercenari ateniesi catturati al Granico, argomento che certo avrebbe suscitato grande emo-

²⁰ Arr., *Anab.* II 15.2: (Alessandro) τοὺς δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ πρὸς Δαρεῖον πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἀφιγμένοι ἦσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτους ἐαλωκέναι ἔμαθεν, παρ' αὐτὸν πέμπειν ἐκέλευεν.

²¹ Alla luce del testo di Arriano, mi sembra inaccettabile la tesi di W. WILL, *Athen*, p. 71-72 e nota 138, secondo il quale Ificrate doveva trovarsi presso Dario almeno dal 335 a.C., perché in seguito non avrebbero potuto esserci contatti ufficiali tra Atene e il Gran Re.

²² W. WILL, *Zur Datierung der Rede Ps. Demosthenes XVII*, *RhM* 125 (1982), p. 202-212; ID., *Athen*, p. 67-70; M. SORDI, *art. cit.* (nota 17), p. 23-30; *contra*, G.L. CAWKWELL, *A Note on Ps. Demosthenes 17.20*, *Phoenix* 15 (1961), p. 74-78, che pensa al 331/0; E. CULASSO GASTALDI, *Ps. Dem. XVII: appunti di cronologia*, *Prometheus* 6 (1980), p. 233-240, e, soprattutto, EAD., *Sul trattato con Alessandro*, Padova 1984, p. 159-183, che riferisce il nucleo originario dell'opera agli anni 330-326, ma ipotizza una rielaborazione da parte di Democare, nipote di Demostene, nei primi decenni del III secolo avanti Cristo.

²³ [Demosth.] 17.22.

²⁴ [Demosth.] 17.27.

²⁵ Diod. XVII 22.5-23.3; Arr., *Anab.* I 20.1.

²⁶ Arr., *Anab.* II 2.3; Curt. III 1.19-20.

²⁷ Arr., *Anab.* II 2.4.

zione nell' assemblea cittadina, dove probabilmente molti tra i presenti erano parenti o amici dei prigionieri²⁸. Credo che il silenzio del retore a questo proposito abbia un chiaro fondamento giuridico: poiché tutta l'orazione è impostata sul fatto che gli Ateniesi avevano il diritto di dichiarare guerra ad Alessandro per le sue violazioni alla κοινὴ εἰρήνη che era alla base della Lega di Corinto e che impegnava i membri della Lega stessa ad una reciproca alleanza, era necessario tacere sulla prigionia di quegli Ateniesi che, mettendosi al soldo della Persia, avevano violato i patti della Lega²⁹.

In quest' ottica, potremmo, dunque, affermare che la questione dei mercenari al servizio di Dario costituiva, per gli anti-macedoni ateniesi, un ingarbugliato rebus giuridico e politico: se, infatti, dal punto di vista giuridico, non si poteva invocare la prigionia di questi concittadini come un motivo di guerra contro Alessandro, dal punto di vista politico, le loro sofferenze erano in grado di sollecitare i sentimenti anti-macedoni della popolazione.

Nel paragrafo finale dell' orazione pseudo-demostenica, lì dove le argomentazioni politiche prevalgono su quelle giuridiche, si legge un invito a riflettere sulla clausola della pace comune che prevedeva la volontarietà dell' adesione alla Lega di Corinto, per far balenare agli Ateniesi la possibilità di non rimanere più al servizio degli altri in maniera vergognosa (αἰσχρῶς)³⁰: non è difficile vedere in questa 'vergogna' anche l'onta di lasciare ai lavori forzati dei concittadini, membri di una *polis* il cui rango e la cui gloria non temevano confronti.

Ma accanto agli anonimi soldati mercenari schierati al soldo di Dario c'erano altri ateniesi, che avevano responsabilità di comando e che, per questo, sono più volte ricordati dalle fonti: Carete, Caridemo, Efialte e Trasibulo³¹.

Dato che gli storici di Alessandro si occupano del ruolo giocato da questi personaggi nello scontro tra Persiani e Macedoni senza accennare

²⁸ M. FARAGUNA, *art. cit.* (nota 14), p. 254, considera il silenzio su questo argomento una prova del fatto che in Atene era al potere una classe dirigente sostanzialmente concorde nell' evitare una rottura con Alessandro: ma, allora, a che pro creare un testo del genere?

²⁹ Cfr. Arr., *Anab.* I 16.6: (Alessandro deportò i Greci catturati al Granico) ὅτι παρὰ τὰ κοινὴ δόξαντα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν Ἕλληνες ὄντες ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐμάχοντο.

³⁰ [Demosth.] 17.30.

³¹ Per un primo approccio alle notizie su questi personaggi all' epoca di Alessandro, cfr. H. BERVE, *AR* II, ai nn. 819, 823, 329 e 378; H.W. PARKE, *Soldiers*, p. 177-185.

affatto né alla loro precedente carriera politico-militare in Atene, né agli eventuali rapporti da loro mantenuti con la madrepatria, credo sia opportuno, non solo e non tanto riepilogare le loro azioni come comandanti mercenari al servizio di Dario, quanto inserirle nel contesto di quanto sappiamo, in generale, della loro vita, per inquadrare il loro comportamento nel 'sistema' politico di Atene durante la spedizione asiatica di Alessandro.

Prima di affrontare singolarmente le vicende dei quattro ateniesi in questione, dobbiamo sottolineare che i loro nomi sono presenti, pur con alcune differenziazioni, nella complessa tradizione che ci ha conservato l'elenco dei politici e degli strateghi dei quali Alessandro chiese la consegna ad Atene dopo la distruzione di Tebe nel 335³².

Per quanto ci riguarda, l'ovvia constatazione che l'elenco di questi personaggi, comunque formatosi, unifichi le diverse posizioni dei singoli nella comune ostilità al Macedone, costituisce una buona base di par-

³² Sulle ampie discussioni che la questione dell'elenco dei cittadini ateniesi richiesti da Alessandro ha suscitato tra i moderni e che non è possibile, in questo contesto, analizzare in tutti i loro aspetti. cfr., tra gli altri, A. SCHÄFER, *Demosthenes* III, p. 137-133 nota 2; H. BERVE, *AR* II, p. 377; L. BRACCESI, *A proposito di una notizia di Iperide*, *RFIC* 95 (1967), p. 157-162; ID., *Le trattative tra Alessandro e gli Ateniesi dopo la distruzione di Tebe*, *Vichiana* 4 (1967), p. 75-83; H.J. GEHRKE, *Phokion. Studien zur Erfassung seiner historischen Gestalt (Zetemata, 64)*, München 1976, p. 66 sqq.; A.B. BOSWORTH, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander I*, Oxford 1980, p. 91-95; F. SISTI, *Alessandro e Atene dopo la caduta di Tebe*, *Sandalion* 4 (1981), p. 115-122; W. WILL, *Athen*, p. 44-45 nota 303; C. BEARZOT, *Focione*, p. 144-151; J. ENGELS, *Studien zur politischen Biographie des Hyperides*, München 1993², p. 162-178; M. FARAGUNA, *art. cit.* (nota 14), p. 231-232 e nota 73; C. COOPER, *A Note on Antipater's Demand of Hypereides and Demosthenes*, *AHB* 7 (1993), p. 130-135. Comunque, per sintetizzare brevemente la questione, possiamo dire che le fonti, unanimi nell'affermare che Alessandro chiese la consegna di un gruppo di eminenti cittadini, evidentemente a lui ostili, divergono, invece, sul numero e sull'identità di questi personaggi. Per quanto riguarda il numero, Diod. XVII 15.1, accenna a una lista di dieci uomini, Plut., *Demosth.* 23.4, insiste sull'esistenza di una duplice tradizione, l'una per un totale di otto nomi, dovuta «agli storici più numerosi e più accreditati», l'altra, per un totale di dieci nomi, risalente a Duride di Samo e a Idomeneo di Lampsaco, mentre Arr., *Anab.* I 10.4, pur non dando alcuna cifra globale, elenca nove nomi, ripresi, poi, dalla Suda, s.v. Ἀντίπατρος 3, che, però, dà un totale di dieci e aggiunge alla lista arrianea il nome di Trasibulo (a proposito di questo passo del Lessico, già A. SCHÄFER, *Demosthenes* III, p. 137-138, aveva puntualizzato una serie di questioni inerenti alla tradizione manoscritta e la sua posizione è stata poi seguita da tutti gli studiosi). Per quanto riguarda, invece, i nomi degli uomini richiesti da Alessandro, solo sei (Demostene, Licurgo, Efialte, Polieutto, Merocle, Caridemo) sono elencati in tutte le liste giunte sino a noi, due (Demone e Callistene) sono noti solo a Plut., *Demosth.* 23.4, mentre altri tre (Iperide, Carete, Diotimo) sono citati da Arr., *Anab.* I 10.4 e dalla Suda, s.v. Ἀντίπατρος 3, che, come abbiamo già detto, conosce anche il nome di Trasibulo.

tenza per la nostra analisi delle figure di Carete, Caridemo, Efialte e Trasibulo, perché mette immediatamente in evidenza la possibilità che dietro la loro scelta di militare al fianco di Dario le motivazioni ‘politiche’ prevalessero su quelle ‘avventuristiche’ ed ‘economiche’, sulle quali in genere molto si insiste a proposito del mercenariato³³.

Stabilito questo presupposto, vediamo ora di esaminare le notizie relative ai quattro personaggi in questione, cominciando dai due, Efialte e Caridemo, che morirono, in modi e per motivi diversi, prima della battaglia di Isso, prima cioè della vittoria che, dopo lo scontro iniziale al Granico, sancì la sostanziale superiorità militare di Alessandro su Dario³⁴.

EFIALTE³⁵

Diodoro³⁶ fa di Efialte l’eroe della resistenza persiana ad Alessandro durante l’assedio di Alicarnasso, al quale era presente anche Memnone di Rodi, comandante in capo delle forze persiane in Anatolia³⁷; secondo lo storico siceliota, infatti, Efialte consigliò agli altri comandanti di attaccare per primi Alessandro e guidò personalmente, con grande coraggio e abilità, l’attacco che ridusse a malpartito i Macedoni, i quali riuscirono poi a volgere a loro favore le sorti dello scontro grazie all’apporto dei veterani di riserva, che uccisero anche Efialte.

Nel passo parallelo di Arriano³⁸, invece, l’Ateniese non è neppure nominato e la scena della battaglia è vista «dalla parte» dei Macedoni, di cui si sottolinea la rapidità nel contrattaccare e nel respingere gli assalitori; il confronto tra i due passi sopracitati non lascia dubbi, non solo sul fatto che essi dipendono da fonti diverse, ma anche sulla particolare attenzione che la fonte di Diodoro rivolge ai mercenari in generale e all’ateniese Efialte in particolare: la sua intelligenza è alla base della strategia degli assediati, il suo valore è il perno della battaglia, la sua morte chiude ogni possibilità di successo per gli uomini di Memnone.

³³ Cfr. F. LANDUCCI GATTINONI, *art. cit.* (nota 2), per un’analisi di tale posizione, con ampi riferimenti bibliografici.

³⁴ Sulle ripercussioni che la battaglia di Isso ebbe in tutto il mondo greco, cfr. G. WIRTH, *Anmerkungen zur Schlacht von Issos*, in AA.VV., *Studia in honorem V. Besevliev*, Sofia 1978, p. 435-449 (= ID., *Studien zur Alexandergeschichte*, Darmstadt 1985, p. 112-126).

³⁵ J. KIRCHNER, *PA* I, n. 6156; M.H. HANSEN, *Rhetores and Strategoi in Fourth-Century Athens*, *GRBS* 24 (1983), p. 168.

³⁶ Diod. XVII 25.6-27.6.

³⁷ Diod. XVII 23.6; Arr., *Anab.* I 20.3; cfr. H. BERVE, *AR* II, n. 497.

³⁸ Arr., *Anab.* I 22.1-7.

Diodoro, però, anche se sottolinea la durezza di Efialte nei confronti dei Macedoni, affermando che l'Ateniese, insieme al concittadino Trasibulo³⁹, prima dello scontro decisivo, si oppose ad una richiesta di tregua da parte di Alessandro, per recuperare i cadaveri dei Macedoni già caduti nelle scaramucce precedenti⁴⁰, nulla ci dice né sulla data nella quale Efialte si era unito ai Persiani, né sui motivi che lo avevano spinto a questa scelta.

Terminus post quem per il suo trasferimento in Asia è, naturalmente, il momento nel quale Alessandro aveva chiesto agli Ateniesi la consegna di un gruppo di loro concittadini, subito dopo la distruzione di Tebe: la citazione del nome di Efialte in tutte le liste giunte sino a noi⁴¹ è segno sicuro della sua presenza in Atene in quell'epoca.

Della sua attività pubblica precedente un frammento di Filocoro⁴² ci informa che nel 350/49 (arconte Apollodoro) egli, in qualità di στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν⁴³, guidò una spedizione ateniese contro Megara, per una questione riguardante la ἱερὰ ὀργάς che segnava la frontiera attico-megarica⁴⁴; lo Pseudo Plutarco⁴⁵, invece, attribuendo a Efialte il titolo di δημαγωγός, con l'evidente significato di esponente di spicco del partito democratico, afferma che egli si era recato come ambasciatore presso il re di Persia, dal quale aveva segretamente ricevuto denaro da distribuire ai politici democratici (tra i quali Demostene e Iperide), per fomentare la guerra contro Filippo di Macedonia.

Questo episodio, databile al 340 in base a due riferimenti presenti nel *Corpus demostenico*⁴⁶, dimostra, senza ombra di dubbio, non solo la

³⁹ Cfr. *infra*, p. 58-59.

⁴⁰ Diod. XVII 25.6.

⁴¹ Cfr. *supra*, p. 39 nota 32.

⁴² Philoc. in *FGrHist.* 328 F155.

⁴³ Sulla suddivisione delle mansioni tra i dieci strateghi eletti annualmente ad Atene, cfr. Arist., *Ath. Pol.* 61.1; cfr. anche M.H. HANSEN, *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes*, Oxford 1991, p. 237-239.

⁴⁴ Sul problema della ἱερὰ ὀργάς al confine tra Atene e Megara, cfr. G. DAVERIO ROCCHI, *La ἱερὰ ὀργάς e la frontiera attico-megarica*, in *Studi di Antichità in memoria di C. Gatti (Quaderni di Acme, 9)*, Milano 1987, p. 98-102; EAD., *Frontiera e confini nella Grecia antica*, Roma 1988, p. 187-194.

⁴⁵ [Plut.], *X orat. vit.* 847 F, 848 E.

⁴⁶ In Demosth. 10.33, c'è un' esortazione agli Ateniesi a inviare un ambasceria al Gran Re, mentre in [Demosth.] 12.6, Filippo, nell' epistola inviata ad Atene, si lamenta dei contatti tra la città e il sovrano di Persia. Concordano con una datazione al 340, A. SCHÄFER, *Demosthenes II*, p. 489; III, p. 139; H. BERVE, *AR II*, n. 329; *contra*, J.G. DROYSSEN, *Geschichte des Hellenismus I* 1, Gotha 1877² (= Basel 1952), p. 143, che data l'ambasceria al 335; cfr., di recente, G.T. GRIFFITH in G.T. GRIFFITH – N.G.L. HAMMOND, *A History of Macedonia II*, Oxford 1979, p. 469.

chiara posizione anti-macedone di Efialte⁴⁷, ma anche i suoi rapporti con la corte persiana in un periodo antecedente la spedizione di Alessandro.

Se l'atteggiamento di Efialte spiega sia la richiesta della sua consegna da parte del sovrano macedone nel 335, sia la sua decisione di rifugiarsi presso Dario, una volta allontanatosi da Atene, resta da domandarsi se il suo fu un esilio volontario o forzoso: in base alle testimonianze di Diodoro, di Plutarco e di Arriano⁴⁸, secondo i quali Alessandro, su sollecitazione di un'ambasceria ateniese, avrebbe rinunciato alla richiesta che gli fosse consegnato un gruppo di uomini politici⁴⁹, si è ipotizzato che quanti, come Efialte, se ne andarono da Atene, lo avessero fatto di loro volontà, perché la loro posizione, radicalmente anti-macedone, rendeva loro impossibile vivere sotto un governo, come quello di Licurgo, che rifiutava, in quel momento, una politica aggressiva nei confronti di Alessandro, a causa della debolezza militare di Atene⁵⁰.

Dato che questa spiegazione non chiarisce come un uomo del carattere di Iperide avesse potuto rimanere in Atene, anche se in posizione marginale, si è pensato⁵¹ che l'ostilità di Alessandro si rivolgesse in particolare a quei politici ateniesi che avessero avuto rapporti e contatti con il re di Persia, tra i quali Iperide non era compreso: questi personaggi, pur avendo usufruito del perdono del sovrano macedone, avrebbero preferito allontanarsi comunque da Atene, per rifugiarsi in Asia dal loro 'protettore'; in questo secondo caso, però, non si capisce come potesse rimanere in patria Demostene, che dal tempo di Filippo aveva apertamente propugnato l'alleanza con la Persia in funzione anti-macedone.

A mio avviso, la soluzione di tale questione è ricavabile dal confronto tra due passi di Diodoro e di Giustino, il secondo dei quali è ingiustamente trascurato dagli studiosi: Giustino⁵² afferma che l'accordo tra Alessandro e Atene prevedeva la permanenza in città degli oratori e

⁴⁷ L'affermazione di Dinarco (*in Demosth.* 33), che Efialte odiava Demostene, anche se fu costretto, per convenienza politica, ad appoggiarne le prese di posizione, ha un carattere molto polemico, in un contesto violentemente anti-demostenico, ed è quindi fortemente sospetta.

⁴⁸ Diod. XVII 15.5; Plut., *Demosth.* 23.6; Arr., *Anab.* I 10.6.

⁴⁹ Arr., *Anab.* I 10.6, specifica che il solo Caridemo non beneficiò del perdono regio e fu costretto all'esilio.

⁵⁰ Cfr., e.g., H. BERVE, *AR* II, nn. 819, 823, 329, 378; M. FARAGUNA, *art. cit.* (nota 14), p. 230-238.

⁵¹ L. BRACCESI, *Le trattative* (nota 32), p. 75-83.

⁵² Just. XI 4.11-12: *eo res deducta est, ut retentis oratoribus duces in exilium agerentur, qui ex continenti ad Darium profecti non mediocre monumentum Persarum viribus accessere.*

l'esilio degli strateghi, mentre Diodoro⁵³, in accordo con Plutarco e con Arriano⁵⁴, sostiene che Demade, nella sua qualità di ambasciatore degli Ateniesi, ottenne la rinuncia di Alessandro alle sue richieste.

Diodoro, però, a differenza di Plutarco e di Arriano, che si limitano a riferire la decisione degli Ateniesi di inviare un'ambasceria al sovrano macedone, affinché desistesse dai suoi propositi, ci informa che il decreto votato dall'assemblea di Atene prevedeva che gli ambasciatori inviati ad Alessandro promettessero che sarebbero stati puniti quanti, tra i politici indicati dal re, fossero risultati colpevoli κατὰ τοὺς νόμους⁵⁵.

E', dunque, ipotizzabile che i quattro personaggi allontanatisi da Atene e rifugiatisi presso i Persiani, Carete, Caridemo, Trasibulo e, naturalmente, Efialte, identificabili con i *duces* ricordati da Giustino, siano stati ufficialmente esiliati dalla città, per rispettare la promessa fatta ad Alessandro.

Giustino, dunque, riferirebbe con esattezza l'esito finale della questione, ma, nella sua estrema concisione, avrebbe trascurato di indicare che la scelta dell'esilio per i *duces* fu votata da Atene, in base all'accordo stipulato con Alessandro, mentre Diodoro avrebbe riportato con precisione i termini della questione, pur senza ricordare esplicitamente né la successiva condanna all'esilio dei quattro personaggi ritenuti colpevoli, né le accuse che ad essi furono mosse, sulle quali possiamo solo fare ipotesi.

L'ipotesi più probabile è che essi siano stati accusati di connivenza con il nemico persiano, al quale si opponeva la Lega di Corinto, cui Atene partecipava a pieno titolo: dato che questa è l'accusa che, come abbiamo già visto⁵⁶, Alessandro mosse ai mercenari ateniesi catturati al Granico, è evidente che in un'atmosfera di guerra panellenica contro la Persia un uomo come Efialte, che aveva esperienza militare ed era stato in rapporti diretti con Dario⁵⁷, era in posizione critica e poteva facilmente essere considerato colpevole di tradimento.

L'eroica morte di Efialte, descritta con enfasi da Diodoro⁵⁸, chiuse ogni sua possibilità di riprendere i rapporti con la patria, ma il ricordo e il rimpianto della sua personalità rimasero in Atene, tanto che tra il 324

⁵³ Diod. XVII 15.5.

⁵⁴ Plut., *Demosth.* 23.6; Arr., *Anab.* I 10.6.

⁵⁵ Diod. XVII 15.3-4.

⁵⁶ Cfr. *supra*, p. 35.

⁵⁷ Cfr. *supra*, p. 41.

⁵⁸ Diod. XVII 25.6-27.6.

e il 323, quando la città era scossa dallo scandalo suscitato dall'arrivo di Arpalo, con tutte le vicende di corruzione che ne erano seguite⁵⁹, Dinarco e Demostene consideravano la scomparsa di Efialte come un grave colpo inferto dal destino ad Atene⁶⁰.

CARIDEMO, FIGLIO DI FILOSSENO, DEL DEMO DI ACHARNAI⁶¹

Di Caridemo, bandito da Atene per volontà di Alessandro⁶², noi conosciamo la fine grazie a Diodoro e a Curzio⁶³, che raccontano, con dovizia di particolari, il tentativo dell'Ateniese di convincere Dario ad affidare a lui e ai mercenari greci la lotta contro Alessandro, dopo la morte di Memnone, già comandante in capo dell'esercito persiano in Anatolia⁶⁴; al di là delle coloriture retoriche sia di Diodoro, sia, soprattutto, di Curzio, tutta la vicenda è tratteggiata in modo da mettere in evidenza, non solo il coraggio e la dignità di Caridemo, ma anche la sua abilità strategica e militare, di contro alla inutile piaggeria degli altri cortigiani di Dario.

Se l'importanza della posizione di Caridemo in Persia è testimoniata dalla sua presenza nello stato maggiore del Gran Re, alla sua carriera precedente accenna una pluralità di fonti, ma la maggior parte delle notizie sulla sua origine e sulla prima parte della sua vita ci sono conservate da Demostene che, nella *contro Aristocrate*, fa di Caridemo il vero protagonista di questa orazione giudiziaria, composta nel 352/1⁶⁵ contro un personaggio, a noi altrimenti sconosciuto, che aveva proposto di perseguire chiunque avesse attentato alla vita di Caridemo, comandante mercenario originario di Oreo in Eubea, che, per i suoi meriti, aveva già ricevuto da Atene la cittadinanza⁶⁶.

⁵⁹ Per una messa a fuoco della questione, cfr. l'articolo di E. BADIAN, *Harpalus*, *JHS* 81(1961), p. 16-43.

⁶⁰ Din. I 33: ἀφείλετο καὶ τοῦτον (Efialte) ἡ τύχη τῆς πόλεως; Demost., *Epist.* 3.31: καὶ ἡ τύχη καὶ ὁ χρόνος παραιρῆται ... Ἐφιάλτην. J.A. GOLDSTEIN, *The Letters of Demosthenes*, New York-London 1968, p. 228-229, pensa che le parole di Demostene a favore di Efialte siano una risposta alle accuse di Dinarco di averlo abbandonato al suo destino (Din. I 32); sul significato di questa terza lettera demostenica, cfr. L. BRACCESI, *Un' interpretazione della III epistola demostenica*, *RAL* 21 (1966), p. 35-45.

⁶¹ J. KIRCHNER, *PA* II, n. 15380; J.K. DAVIES, *APF*, p. 570-572; M.H. HANSEN, *art. cit.* (nota 35), p. 179.

⁶² Arr., *Anab.* I 10.6; cfr. anche *supra*, p. 39 nota 32.

⁶³ Diod. XVII 30.1-5; Curt. III 2.10-19.

⁶⁴ Sulla morte di Memnone, cfr. Diod. XVII 29.4; Arr., *Anab.* III 1.3; Plut., *Alex.* 18.5; Curt. III 2.1.

⁶⁵ Dionys. Hal., *ad Amm.* I 4.

⁶⁶ Cfr *infra*, nota 69.

Senza entrare in una analisi dettagliata del testo demostenico⁶⁷, è opportuno notare che il tono è violentemente polemico nei confronti di Caridemo, al quale viene attribuita l'intenzione, in combutta con il re di Tracia Cersoblepte, di minacciare possedimenti ateniesi nel Chersoneso tracico, nonostante i grandi onori a lui tributati da Atene.

Comunque, al di là delle invettive dell' oratore, a noi interessa mettere in evidenza che, fino al momento della composizione dell' orazione, Caridemo non si era ancora stabilito in Atene⁶⁸ e aveva agito in maniera indipendente, anche se è possibile ipotizzare che avesse creato un rapporto «privilegiato» con il gruppo dei democratici, dato che proprio con uno dei maggiori rappresentanti della democrazia radicale, Carete, aveva stipulato il trattato di pace tra Atene e la Tracia, trattato che definiva i diritti della città sulle coste del Chersoneso e che gli valse la concessione della cittadinanza⁶⁹.

A partire dal 352, Caridemo si inserì a pieno titolo nella vita politico-militare di Atene, come ci confermano le fonti, che conoscono tre strategie di questo personaggio, nel 351/0, nel 349/8 e nel 338/7⁷⁰: secondo Demostene⁷¹, nel 351/0 Caridemo partì per la Tracia, nel mese di Boedromione (settembre-ottobre), con dieci navi, per contrastare Filippo, che stava assediando la località di *Heraion Teichos*, nella Propontide; ma quando si sparse la notizia di una grave malattia del sovrano macedone, gli Ateniesi decisero di abbandonare la spedizione.

⁶⁷ Cfr. A. SCHÄFER, *Demosthenes* I, p. 419-450.

⁶⁸ Demosth. 23.138.

⁶⁹ Sul trattato di pace tra Atene e i sovrani di Tracia, cfr. *IG II² 126 = Tod 151 = H. Bengtson, Die Staatsverträge des Altertums II. Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 700 bis 338 v.Chr.*, München-Berlin 1962, n. 303. Per quanto riguarda, invece, la cronologia della concessione della cittadinanza a Caridemo, la data del 357/6 è stata stabilita da H.W. Parke, *When was Charidemus made an Athenian Citizen?*, *CR* 42 (1928), p. 170; H.W. Parke, *Soldiers*, p. 125-132, sulla base di Demosth. 23.141, 203, dove si dice espressamente che egli aveva ricevuto la cittadinanza διὰ Κερσobleπτην, e, quindi, in un momento successivo al 360/59, anno nel quale Cersoblepte, ancora giovanissimo, era divenuto re.

L'opinione del Parke, in contrasto con A. Schäfer, *Demosthenes* I, p. 419 nota 4, e con J. Kirchner, *PA* II, n. 15380, che datavano la cittadinanza al 362, è stata in genere accettata dalla critica, poiché la chiara indicazione di Demosth. 23.141, 203, pone come sicuro *terminus post quem* il 360/59. *Contra*, M.J. Osborne, *Athens and Orontes*, *ABSA* 66 (1971), p. 297-321, e *Naturalization in Athens* III, Brussel 1983, p. 56-53, che colloca la concessione della cittadinanza a Caridemo al 364/3, in relazione alla sua datazione alta dell' iscrizione *IG II² 207*, sulla quale cfr. *infra*, p. 48 e nota 90.

⁷⁰ 351/0: Demosth. 3.5; 349/8: Philoc. in *FGrHist* 328 F50; 338/7: Plut., *Phoc.* 16.4.

⁷¹ Demosth. 3.5.

Di fronte a questi avvenimenti, dobbiamo domandarci che cosa avesse spinto Caridemo a trasferirsi in Atene, allontanandosi definitivamente dal re di Tracia Cersoblepte, al quale era stato accanto fin dalla sua ascesa al trono, dopo la morte di Cotis, intorno al 360/59⁷²; anche se le fonti nulla ci dicono esplicitamente a questo proposito, la critica⁷³ ha ipotizzato che Caridemo abbia abbandonato Cersoblepte quando questi, spaventato dall'improvviso attacco di Filippo, condotto sino alla Propontide, si accordò con il sovrano macedone, così da creare enormi preoccupazioni in Atene, che nell'assedio di *Heraion Teichos* vedeva una minaccia ai rifornimenti di grano dal Mar Nero.

Questa mossa di Filippo influì profondamente anche su Demostene, il quale, pur avendo da poco attaccato con violenza Caridemo nella *contro Aristocrate*⁷⁴, caldeggiò subito, nella *Prima Filippica*⁷⁵, l'invio di una spedizione contro il Macedone, guidata da Caridemo, e, pochi anni dopo, nella *Terza Orintica*, rimpianse amaramente che questa spedizione fosse stata interrotta alla notizia della malattia del sovrano macedone⁷⁶.

Come afferma esplicitamente lo Jäger⁷⁷, la posizione in politica estera che Demostene tiene nella *Prima Filippica* è molto diversa da quella sostenuta nella *contro Aristocrate*, perché l'oratore, di fronte all'attacco di Filippo contro l'Ellesponto, si era accorto che il vero nemico per Atene nell'Egeo settentrionale era da individuare, non in un regolo come Cersoblepte, ma nell'aggressivo e deciso sovrano di Macedonia.

D'altra parte, l'abbandono della Tracia da parte di Caridemo, per incompatibilità con la nuova politica filo-macedone di Cersoblepte, molto pericolosa per Atene, dimostra che, a differenza di quanto aveva sostenuto Demostene nella *contro Aristocrate*, Caridemo, alla corte di Tracia, lungi dal rappresentare una minaccia per Atene, doveva aver propugnato una politica di intesa con la città, pur salvaguardando, naturalmente, l'autonomia del regno di Cersoblepte.

⁷² Sui rapporti tra Caridemo e Cersoblepte, cfr. Demosth. 23.155-156, 167-172.

⁷³ Cfr. A. MOMIGLIANO, *Filippo il Macedone. Saggio sulla storia greca del IV sec. a.C.*, Firenze 1934 (= Milano 1987), p. 107-109.

⁷⁴ Cfr. *supra*, p. 44.

⁷⁵ Demosth. 4.16-17. Sulla discussa datazione della *Prima Filippica* al 352/1, secondo Dionys. Hal., *ad Amm.* I 4, cfr. W. JÄGER, *Demostene* (tr. ital.), Torino 1942, p. 146-150; R. SEALEY, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus and some Demosthenic Dates*, *REG* 68 (1955), p. 77-120, in particolare p. 81-89; G.L. CAWKWELL, *The Defence of Olynthus*, *CQ* N.S. 12 (1962), p. 122-140, in particolare p. 122-127.

⁷⁶ Demosth. 3.5.

⁷⁷ W. JÄGER, *o.c.* (nota 75), p. 149.

In quest'ottica, potremmo affermare che l'atteggiamento di Caridemo nel 352/1, quando Filippo attaccò *Heraion Teichos*, giustifica *a posteriori* gli onori che gli erano stati attribuiti dagli Ateniesi negli anni precedenti: nel momento decisivo egli mostrò la sua lealtà ad Atene, allontanandosi da Cersoblepte, e smentì così, nei fatti, le accuse di malafede e di tradimento di cui lo aveva gratificato Demostene nella *contro Aristocrate*⁷⁸.

Se è vero, come sostiene lo Jäger⁷⁹, che la *prima Filippica* segna il definitivo allontanamento del grande oratore dal partito dei 'moderati' di Eubulo, il fatto che in questa orazione egli abbandoni ogni attacco contro Caridemo, sembra confermare la mia ipotesi che quest'ultimo gravitasse da tempo nell'ambito dei 'democratici' e che ad essi fosse debitore della cittadinanza e degli altri onori offertigli in precedenza⁸⁰.

A mio avviso, dunque, la prima strategia di Caridemo, nel 351/0, conferma la coerenza della sua posizione nei confronti di Atene e lo indica come uno degli uomini di punta dei democratici, che avevano ormai individuato in Filippo il più pericoloso nemico di Atene.

Anche nel 349/8 la strategia di Caridemo fu in funzione anti-macedone: secondo Filocoro⁸¹, infatti, Caridemo, come ὁ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ στρατηγός, guidò la seconda delle tre spedizioni inviate da Atene in aiuto di Olinto⁸² e, anche in questo caso, agì di concerto con i democratici, dato che, come ha dimostrato il Cawkwell⁸³, i moderati

⁷⁸ Demosth. 23.167-172.

⁷⁹ W. JÄGER, *o.c.* (nota 75), p. 148-150.

⁸⁰ Per una discussione sul ruolo e sul significato dei 'partiti' politici nell'Atene del IV secolo, dopo la classica impostazione di K.J. BELOCH, *Die attische Politik seit Perikles*, Leipzig 1884, p. 240-255, cfr. R. SEALEY, *Athens after the Social War*, JHS 75 (1955), p. 74-81 (= *Essays in Greek Politics*, New York 1967, p. 164-172); ID., *Callistratos of Aphidna and his Contemporaries*, Historia 5 (1956), p. 178-203 (= *Essays*, p. 133-163); S. PERLMAN, *The Politicians in the Athenian Democracy of the Fourth Century B.C.*, *Athenaeum* 41 (1963), p. 327-355; M. FARAGUNA, *art. cit.* (nota 14), p. 211-243: tutti questi studiosi tendono a sottolineare la sostanziale omogeneità della classe dirigente ateniese, sminuendo l'importanza delle divisioni in fazioni, evidenziata, invece, dal Beloch. Più vicina al Beloch la posizione di C. BEARZOT, *Callistrato e i 'moderati' ateniesi*, CRDAC 10 (1978-1979), p. 7-27, che, pur senza esasperare le divisioni all'interno della politica ateniese, insiste sull'esistenza di diversità ideologiche che portavano a comportamenti differenti, non facilmente conciliabili tra di loro.

⁸¹ Philoc. in *FGrHist*, 328 F50.

⁸² Sull'assedio e la presa di Olinto da parte di Filippo, cfr. G.L. CAWKWELL, *art. cit.* (nota 75), p. 122-140; G.T. GRIFFITH, in *op. cit.* (nota 46) II, p. 216-328; E.M. BURKE, *Eubulus, Olynthus and Euboea*, TAPhA 114 (1984), p. 111 sqq.

⁸³ G.L. CAWKWELL, *art. cit.* (nota 75), p. 134-140.

erano piuttosto ostili a un impegno a favore della città calcidica e, nello stesso periodo, caldeggiavano una spedizione in Eubea, che fu affidata a Focione⁸⁴.

A Olinto Caridemo dovette sicuramente collaborare con Carete, che, non solo aveva comandato il primo contingente colà inviato da Atene⁸⁵, ma che guidò anche la terza spedizione, nella quale, secondo Filocoro⁸⁶, proprio Carete fu nominato στρατηγὸς τοῦ στόλου παντός. Per il resto, noi non sappiamo nulla delle azioni intraprese da Caridemo nella Calcidica, ma il rapido deteriorarsi della situazione, fino alla catastrofe finale⁸⁷, rende lecita l'ipotesi che egli non abbia avuto troppe possibilità di mostrare le sue capacità militari, tanto più che nella vittoria di Filippo giocò un ruolo importante il tradimento di chi, all' interno delle città assediate, aprì le porte al nemico macedone⁸⁸.

Alla strategia del 349/8 molti studiosi moderni⁸⁹ collegano anche i riferimenti a Caridemo contenuti in IG II² 207, un' iscrizione frammentaria di difficile datazione⁹⁰, dalla quale (frr.c-d) si evince che Caridemo, con altri tre strateghi ateniesi, Carete, Focione e Prosseno, fu impegnato

⁸⁴ Cfr. C. BEARZOT, *Focione*, p. 84-94.

⁸⁵ Philoc in *FGrHist*, 328 F49.

⁸⁶ Philoc in *FGrHist*, 328 F51.

⁸⁷ Secondo Demostene (19.266) tutte le città calcidiche caddero nel breve volgere di un anno.

⁸⁸ Cfr., per la caduta di Meciberna e di Torone, Diod XVI 53.2; per la caduta di Olinto, Diod., *ibid.*; Demosth 8.40, 9.66.

⁸⁹ Cfr., e.g., G.L. CAWKWELL, *art. cit.* (nota 75), p. 131-132; C. BEARZOT, *Focione*, p. 94-95.

⁹⁰ Nei frammenti superstiti di IG II² 207, b-c-d, non ci sono elementi oggettivi di datazione, mentre nel perduto fr. a K.S. PITTAKYS, *L'ancienne Athènes*, Athinai 1835, p. 500-501, l'unico ad averlo realmente visto, lesse, alla linea 11, ἐπὶ Νικομάχου ἄρχοντος, datando così il decreto al 341/0; pochi anni dopo, A.R. RANGABÉ, *Antiquités helléniques*, Athinai 1855, nn. 397, 398, 399, pur senza esaminare il fr. a, ormai perduto, emendò la lettura del Pittakys in ἐπὶ Καλλιμάχου ἄρχοντος, portando così la data al 349/8, seguito da Kirchner in IG II² 207 e, quindi, da tutta la critica. M.J. OSBORNE, *art. cit.* (nota 69), p. 297-321, e *Naturalization in Athens* III (nota 69), p. 56-58, dopo aver rifiutato, per motivi storici e paleografici, sia la lettura del Pittakys che quella del Rangabé, ha ipotizzato dapprima una lettura ἐπὶ Νικοφίμου ἄρχοντος (361/0) e, in un secondo momento, ἐπὶ Τιμοκράτου ἄρχοντος (364/3), datando così l'iscrizione a quest' ultimo anno. R.A. MOYSEY, *IG II² 207 and the Great Satraps Revolt*, *ZPE* 69 (1987), p. 93-100; R. DEVELIN, *Once more about IG II² 207*, *ZPE* 73 (1988), p. 75-81; D.H. KELLY, *Charidemus' Citizenship: the Problem of IG II² 207*, *ZPE* 83 (1990), p. 96-109, hanno avanzato forti critiche alla tesi dell' Osborne, dimostrando come i suoi argomenti, per quanto interessanti, non siano cogenti.

Ritengo, pertanto, molto equilibrata la posizione del Kelly, secondo il quale, in mancanza di argomentazioni dirimenti, non è possibile prescindere dall'unica lettura autoptica della linea 11 del fr. a, cioè quella del Pittakys, che nel suo testo dà per sicura la formula ἐπὶ Νικομάχου ἄρχοντος: il 341/0 sarebbe, dunque, il *terminus post quem* per IG II² 207.

a raccogliere συντάξεις dall' isola di Lesbo e a procurare rifornimenti di grano dalla vicina costa asiatica.

A mio avviso, però, questa ipotesi è stata molto indebolita dalle stringenti argomentazioni del Kelly⁹¹, in base alle quali, stabilito come *terminus post quem* per l'iscrizione il 341/0, dovremmo ipotizzare una ulteriore strategia di Caridemo tra il 341/0 e il 339/8, anni nei quali nulla sappiamo dei suoi movimenti.

D'altra parte, la sua elezione a stratego nel 338/7⁹², provando che in questo periodo egli godeva ancora di grande considerazione, rende del tutto plausibile una sua ulteriore elezione negli anni immediatamente precedenti; data, però, la complessità delle questioni inerenti all' iscrizione IG II² 207 e il silenzio delle altre fonti a questo proposito, ritengo opportuno sospendere il giudizio e considerare una eventuale quarta strategia di Caridemo, oltre alle tre a noi note per via letteraria⁹³, come una ipotesi suggestiva, ma ancora troppo controversa, allo stato attuale delle nostre conoscenze.

L'ultima strategia di Caridemo, quella del 338/7, cade in uno dei momenti più drammatici della storia di Atene: secondo Plutarco⁹⁴, unica nostra fonte sull' argomento, dopo la sconfitta dei Greci a Cheronea, i «fautori della rivoluzione» (οἱ θορυβοποιοὶ καὶ οἱ νεωτερισταί) chiesero l'elezione di Caridemo, mentre i «migliori» (οἱ βέλτιστοι), con lacrime e preghiere, ottennero che al suo posto venisse chiamato Focione.

Al di là della tendenziosità della fonte moderata e filofocioniana di Plutarco⁹⁵, le definizioni moralistiche con le quali lo storico individua i due partiti che allora si contrapponevano in Atene⁹⁶ non possono nascondere la realtà di uno scontro radicale tra democratici che volevano continuare la guerra contro Filippo e moderati che volevano, invece, la pace con il Macedone.

L'elezione alla strategia di Caridemo ben si inquadra in quel complesso di proposte che i democratici fecero in vista della resistenza a oltranza⁹⁷: divieto di sottrarsi al pericolo con la fuga dalla città, raffor-

⁹¹ D.H. KELLY, *art. cit.*, p. 96-109; cfr. *supra* nota 90.

⁹² Plut., *Phoc.* 16.3.

⁹³ Cfr. *supra* nota 70.

⁹⁴ Plut., *Phoc.* 16.3.

⁹⁵ Cfr. C. BEARZOT, *Focione*, p. 137-139 e *passim*.

⁹⁶ Sulle tendenze moralistiche delle fonti moderate, cfr. J. DE ROMILLY, *Les modérés athéniens vers le milieu du IV^e siècle: échos et concordances*, REG 67 (1954), p. 327-354, in particolare p. 337-339.

⁹⁷ Di questo parere, W. WILL, *Athen*, p. 10-11; C. BEARZOT, *Focione*, p. 137-139.

zamento delle difese cittadine, liberazione degli schiavi, equiparazione dei meteci ai cittadini di pieno diritto, richiamo degli esuli⁹⁸.

L'opposizione dei moderati alla elezione di Caridemo è la ennesima e, direi, definitiva conferma che egli era ormai un esponente di punta dei democratici: Caridemo, grazie anche alla sua lunga esperienza di comandante mercenario⁹⁹, rappresentava l'ala militare della democrazia radicale ateniese, che non vedeva altra soluzione, se non quella bellica, come risposta all'aggressivo espansionismo di Filippo.

Anche se la vittoria dei βέλτιστοι, che riuscirono a far eleggere Focione al posto di Caridemo, segnò in Atene la sconfitta, non solo e non tanto di quest'ultimo, quanto quella della democrazia radicale¹⁰⁰, Caridemo non rinunciò a lavorare per la riscossa del suo partito, come dimostra il fatto che nel 336, avendo saputo per primo della morte di Filippo¹⁰¹, ne informò segretamente Demostene¹⁰², certo per dargli il tempo di elaborare una nuova strategia, di fronte a una notizia che sembrava mutare completamente la situazione politica del mondo greco.

Da tutto quanto abbiamo detto risulta evidente il motivo per il quale Alessandro, nel 335, inserì il nome di Caridemo nella lista degli Ateniesi che voleva gli fossero consegnati: nei circa quindici anni compresi tra la sua decisione di entrare nella vita politica ateniese nel 352 e il tentativo di reazione democratica alla vittoria di Filippo a Cheroinea nel 338, Caridemo aveva seguito una rigida e coerente politica anti-macedone.

⁹⁸ Cfr. Lyc., in *Leocr.* 16.39, 42.44, 53; [Plut.] *X orat. vit.* 849A.

⁹⁹ Cfr. *supra* p. 44-45.

¹⁰⁰ Secondo W. WILL, *Athen*, p. 29-30, sarebbe di matrice moderata anche il decreto contro gli attentati alla democrazia, votato, su proposta di Eucrate, nel 337/6 (cfr. B.D. MERITT, *Greek Inscriptions, Hesperia* 15 (1952), p. 355-359 = *SEG* XII 87; J. POUILLOUX, *Choix d'inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1960, p. 121-124); della stessa opinione, R. SEALEY, *On Penalizing Areopagites*, *AJPh* 79 (1958), p. 71-73 (= *Essays*, p. 183-185); C. MOSSÉ, *À propos de la loi d'Eucrates sur la tyrannie*, *Eirene* 8 (1970), p. 71-78; *contra*, M. OSTWALD, *The Athenian Legislation against Tyranny and Subversion*, *TAPhA* 86 (1955), p. 103-128; L. BRACCESI, *Il decreto ateniese del 337/6 contro gli attentati alla democrazia*, *Epigraphia* 27 (1965), p. 110-126; C. BEARZOT, *Focione*, p. 139; J. ENGELS, *Das Eukratesgesetz und der Prozess des Kompetenzerweiterung des Areopages in der Eubulos- und Lykurgära*, *ZPE* 74 (1988), p. 181-208, che ha ipotizzato che Caridemo fosse il vero ispiratore della legge di Eucrate; M. FARAGUNA, *art. cit.* (nota 14), p. 270-272.

¹⁰¹ A. SCHÄFER, *Demosthenes* III, p. 87, seguito da J. KIRCHNER, *PA* II, n. 15380, ipotizza, pur non avendo riscontri nelle fonti, che in quell'anno Caridemo si trovasse nelle cleruchie egee di Atene, forse a Lemno o a Sciro.

¹⁰² Aesch. 3.77.

Per quanto riguarda, invece, suoi eventuali rapporti con la Persia, che potessero giustificare, come per Efialte, l'accusa di connivenza con il nemico¹⁰³, le uniche notizie utili risalgono agli anni immediatamente precedenti il 360, quando Caridemo, dopo un periodo di frizione con Artabazo, satrapo della Frigia Ellespontica, per il possesso delle città di Ilio, Scepsi e Cebrene, giunse ad un accordo con questo personaggio, grazie ai buoni uffici di Mentore e Memnone di Rodi, cognati del satrapo¹⁰⁴.

Data l'importanza del ruolo giocato sia da Memnone che da Artabazo nella guerra contro Alessandro¹⁰⁵, è suggestiva l'ipotesi che Caridemo avesse conservato buoni rapporti con entrambi e che questo gli sia stato imputato nel 335, al momento della decisione sul suo esilio da Atene, ma, allo stato attuale delle nostre conoscenze, non ci sono riscontri obbiettivi nelle fonti ed è quindi metodologicamente corretto considerarla una pura e semplice illazione.

In conclusione, quindi, risulta che Caridemo, dipinto da Demostene, nella *contro Aristocrate*, come un senza patria, senza onore e senza meriti¹⁰⁶, e accusato di ogni nefandezza da Teopompo, certo influenzato da fonti moderate¹⁰⁷, difese con inflessibile coraggio la libertà di Atene, accettò senza paura l'esilio, continuando alla corte di Dario la sua politica anti-macedone, e, di fronte alle titubanze del re di Persia, ribadì le sue convinzioni sulla strategia da perseguire contro Alessandro e, *ne tum*

¹⁰³ Cfr. *supra* p. 43.

¹⁰⁴ Demosth. 23.154-162. Questo, in breve, lo svolgimento dei fatti: quando nel 363/2 Timoteo, fallita la presa di Anfipoli, tornò in Atene (cfr. *IG* II² 110 = *Syll.*³ 174 = *Top* 143, linea 6, dove si specifica che gli onori al Pelagone Menelao furono decretati grazie alla raccomandazione di Timoteo, allora presente in città), licenziò Caridemo che passò in Asia, per mettersi al servizio di Artabazo, satrapo della Frigia Ellespontica, allora in lotta con Autodafate, uno dei satrapi ribelli al Gran Re (sulla cosiddetta grande Rivolta dei Satrapi, cfr. Diod. XV 90-93; Trog., *Prol.* X; cfr. anche M.J. OSBORNE, *Orontes, Historia* 22, 1973, p. 515-551). Caduto prigioniero Artabazo, Caridemo si mise al servizio dei suoi due giovani cognati, Memnone e Mentore di Rodi, e, approfittando della loro ingenuità, si impadronì di Scepsi, Cebrene e Ilio (Demosth. 23.154; sulla presenza di Caridemo a Ilio, cfr. anche Aen. Tact. 24.1-14; Aristot., *Oecon.* II 1351b19; Plut., *Sert.* 1.3; Polyæn. III 14). Assediato, poi, da Artabazo, che era stato liberato da Autofradate, Caridemo, dopo essersi rivolto per aiuto a Cefisodoto, stratego dell'Ellesponto, promettendogli in cambio di convincere Cotis, re di Tracia, a consegnare il Chersoneso ad Atene (Demosth. 23.153, 156), raggiunse un accordo con il satrapo, grazie ai buoni uffici di Memnone e di Mentore, e si ritirò in Tracia presso lo stesso Cotis (Demosth. 23.158-159).

¹⁰⁵ Cfr. H. BERVE, *AR* II, nn. 152 e 497.

¹⁰⁶ Demosth. 13.136, 138 e *passim*.

¹⁰⁷ Theopomp., in *FGrHist* 115 F143.

quidem libertatis oblitus, affrontò la morte con tranquilla dignità nel 333, prima della battaglia di Isso¹⁰⁸.

Del resto l'importanza di Caridemo nel partito democratico ateniese fu ufficialmente riconosciuta da Demostene, che, nel 323, elencando i δημοτικοί ormai morti, non solo inserì nella lista il nome di Caridemo, ma sottolineò che quest'ultimo, come lui stesso, era stato ingiustamente abbandonato dal δῆμος, talvolta incapace di riconoscere chi difendeva realmente la causa del popolo, da chi, invece, cercava di blandirlo per i propri oscuri interessi¹⁰⁹.

CARETE, FIGLIO DI TEOCARE, DEL DEMO DI ANGELE¹¹⁰

Al momento dello sbarco di Alessandro in Asia, Carete, che si trovava nei suoi possedimenti a Sigeo in Troade¹¹¹, dopo un gesto di formale sottomissione al Macedone¹¹², certo dovuto alla sua debolezza di fronte all'esercito invasore¹¹³, si unì alle forze persiane guidate da Memnone, tanto che nel 332, dopo la morte del comandante persiano, durante il contrattacco macedone nell'Egeo, lo ritroviamo a capo di una guarnigione

¹⁰⁸ Curt. III 2.18. Cfr. W.K. PRITCHETT, *The Greek State at War II*, Berkeley 1984, p. 85-89, per un giudizio positivo sul comportamento di Caridemo.

¹⁰⁹ Demosth., *Epist.* 3.31. Alcune informazioni sui comportamenti di Caridemo come comune cittadino ateniese ci vengono da tre iscrizioni: la prima, un rendiconto dei tesori di Atena, databile tra il 334 e il 331 (*IG II²* 1416, ll. 28, 32, 36), ricorda l'offerta di tre corone d'oro alla dea da parte di Caridemo, insieme alle offerte di altri personaggi, tra i quali si leggono i nomi di Nausicle, di Neottolema e di Diotimo, cioè degli stessi personaggi che in Demosth. 18.114 sono ricordati, assieme a Caridemo, come destinatari di corone d'oro, in momenti importanti, ma non meglio specificati della storia ateniese, anche se sicuramente anteriori al 330, anno della composizione di questa orazione demostenica. La seconda iscrizione, un rendiconto degli addetti alla marina militare (*IG II²* 1623 = *Syll.³* 962, l. 321), ricorda una trierarchia di Caridemo per l'anno 335/4, cioè per quello stesso anno nel quale egli fu costretto all'esilio: la presenza del suo nome nell'elenco dei trierarchi indica che egli apparteneva, per censo, alla classe liturgica. La terza iscrizione, un altro rendiconto degli addetti alla marina militare (*IG II²* 1627, ll. 208-211, 217-219), databile al 330/29, ricorda i figli di Caridemo, Eurimedonte, Filaco e Troilo, come debitori, al posto del padre, ormai morto, per l'armamento della trireme citata in *IG II²* 1623, l. 321. Null'altro sappiamo di questi figli di Caridemo, dei quali ignoriamo anche l'identità della madre (per un'ipotesi a questo proposito, cfr. H.J. WADE-GERY, *The Year of the Armistice*, 423 B.C., *CQ* 24, 1930, p. 38-39 [Appendix B]; J.K. DAVIES, *APF*, p. 571-572).

¹¹⁰ J. KIRCHNER, *PA II*, n. 15292; J.K. DAVIES, *APF*, p. 568-569; M.H. HANSEN, *art. cit.* (nota 35), p. 179.

¹¹¹ Sull'esistenza di questi possedimenti, da lui ottenuti nel 357/6, quando aveva aiutato Artabazo, satrapo della Frigia Ellespontica, ribelle al Gran Re, cfr. Diod. XVI 22.1; Demosth. 4.24; Schol. Demosth. 3.31, 4.19; Theopomp. in *FGrHist* 115 F105.

¹¹² Arr., *Anab.* I 12.1.

¹¹³ Della stessa opinione, A.B. BOSWORTH, *op. cit.* (nota 32) I, p. 103.

persiana di duemila uomini a Mitilene, nell' isola di Lesbo¹¹⁴: impossibilitato a sostenere l'urto delle preponderanti forze macedoni, trattò la resa, rifugiandosi, poi, a Imbro¹¹⁵.

Nient' altro ci dicono le fonti sulle azioni di Carete durante la spedizione di Alessandro¹¹⁶, ma che egli non sia morto in quegli anni ci è confermato dal fatto che nel 324/3, alla vigilia dello scoppio della guerra lamiaca, Iperide consigliò agli Ateniesi di non sciogliere i reparti mercenari che si trovavano al Tenaro sotto il comando di Carete¹¹⁷. Questa notizia, per quanto isolata, è per noi di grande importanza perché, nonostante il silenzio delle fonti, dimostra, non solo la sopravvivenza di Carete fino a quell' anno, ma anche la continuità della sua posizione anti-macedone: come nel 332 aveva contrastato in armi l'aggressione macedone contro Mitilene, così nel 323 era in collegamento con le forze ateniesi che preparavano la guerra ad Antipatro, plenipotenziario di Alessandro in Europa¹¹⁸.

Anche se degli avvenimenti legati ai prodromi della guerra lamiaca ci occuperemo nella seconda parte di questo lavoro, è già adesso importante sottolineare due punti: a) l'allontanamento di Carete da Atene prima della partenza di Alessandro per l'Asia¹¹⁹ non aveva rescisso i rapporti tra lui e gli anti-macedoni militanti, come Iperide, rimasti in città; b) la posizione di Carete, sia nel 332 che nel 324, era di tipo squisitamente militare e si collegava con il comando di forti contingenti mercenari, in piena coerenza con tutta la sua precedente carriera, a partire dal lontano 367/6, quando, come stratego ateniese, aveva guidato una spedizione composta da cittadini e da mercenari in aiuto di Fliunte contro Argo¹²⁰.

¹¹⁴ Curt. IV 5.22.

¹¹⁵ Curt. IV 5.22; cfr. anche Arr., *Anab.* III 2.6, che cita il nome di Carete a proposito del rapporto fatto ad Alessandro da Egeoco sulle sue vittorie nell' Egeo.

¹¹⁶ L'ipotesi di A.B. BOSWORTH, *op. cit.* (nota 32) I, p. 179-180, che Carete avesse combattuto all' inizio dalla parte di Alessandro e fosse passato dalla parte dei Persiani perché sconfitto da Memnone nel 333, si basa su Polyæn, V 44.3, che riporta questo episodio senza dare precise coordinate cronologiche. In realtà, tutta la critica, a partire da A. SCHÄFER, *Demosthenes* III, p. 171 nota 1, colloca l'episodio nel periodo precedente al 340, quando Carete si trovava nell' Egeo settentrionale per ordine di Atene, e questa posizione mi sembra ancora accettabile perché l'ipotesi del Bosworth non è suffragata né da Arriano (*Anab.* II 1.1), né da Diodoro (XVII 29.1-2), che pure parlano della campagna di Memnone nell' Egeo.

¹¹⁷ [Plut.] *X orat. vit.* 848E.

¹¹⁸ Carete dovette morire subito dopo, perché Demosth., *Epist.* 3.31, annovera il suo nome nell' elenco dei democratici scomparsi.

¹¹⁹ Cfr. *supra* p. 39 nota 32.

¹²⁰ Xen., *Hell.* VII 2.18-23; Diod. XV 75.3.

Stratego per ben quattordici volte tra il 367/6 e il 338/7¹²¹, legato fin dall' inizio al gruppo radicale di Aristofonte¹²², pur essendo, a differenza di Caridemo, cittadino ateniese dalla nascita, fu spesso a capo di milizie mercenarie¹²³ delle quali si servì in imprese promosse da Atene, anche se dovette talvolta impegnarsi con loro al di fuori degli schemi ufficiali.

A questo proposito, è particolarmente illuminante il suo comportamento durante la guerra sociale: Carete, dopo la sconfitta subita a Embata dagli Ateniesi¹²⁴, per le esitazioni degli altri strateghi, da lui accusati di tradimento¹²⁵, passò in Asia al servizio di Artabazo, satrapo della Frigia Ellespontica, che si era ribellato al re.

Mentre Diodoro¹²⁶ si limita a riferire la decisione di Carete, senza accennare ad alcuna pressione da parte dei suoi soldati, dei quali non dice che erano mercenari, lo Scoliaista di Demostene¹²⁷, non solo sottolinea che Carete era a capo di una truppa a pagamento (ξενική δύναμις) e che si erano arruolati sotto le sue bandiere circa diecimila mercenari licenziati dai satrapi persiani per ordine del re, ma afferma che, di fronte all' offerta di Artabazo di prendere al suo servizio tutta l'armata di Carete, furono i suoi mercenari a spingerlo a passare in Asia, minacciando di piantarlo comunque in asso, se egli non fosse stato (come non era) in grado di offrire loro le medesime condizioni economiche proposte da Artabazo¹²⁸.

Come ha recentemente ribadito il Moysey¹²⁹, le fonti non lasciano dubbi sul fatto che la scelta di Carete non avesse avuto la preventiva autorizzazione dell' assemblea ateniese, che, però, l'appoggiò *a poste-*

¹²¹ Non è qui il caso di analizzare nei particolari una carriera già universalmente nota, cfr., per un rapido *excursus*, i testi citati, *supra* alla nota 110.

¹²² Cfr., in particolare, A. SCHÄFER, *Demosthenes* I, p. 133; J. DE ROMILLY, *art. cit.* (nota 96), p. 327-330; R. SEALEY, *art. cit.* (nota 80), p. 74; C. BEARZOT, *art. cit.* (nota 80), p. 25-27; EAD., *Focione*, p. 111-114; *contra*, C. MOSSÉ, *La fin de la démocratie athénienne*, Paris 1962, p. 277-278, che tende a sottovalutare le divergenze tra Carete e i cosiddetti moderati; per l'eventuale adesione di Carete a un' 'eteria' politico-giudiziaria, cfr. C. PECORELLA LONGO, 'Eterie' e gruppi politici nell'Atene del IV sec. a.C., Firenze 1971, p. 66-78.

¹²³ Cfr. H.W. PARKE, *Soldiers*, p. 123-126, 144-146.

¹²⁴ Diod. XVI 21.1-3; Polyæn. III 9.29.

¹²⁵ Cfr. Diod. XVI 21.3; Corn., *Timoth.* 3.4; *Iphic.* 3.3; Polyæn. III 9.29; Plut., *Reg. et Imper. apophtheg.* 187A; Dinarch., in *Demosth.* 14.

¹²⁶ Diod. XVI 22.1-2.

¹²⁷ Schol. Demosth. 3.19.

¹²⁸ Questa notizia è indirettamente confermata da Demosth. 4.24, dove, nell' esaminare gli svantaggi di un' armata mercenaria, pur senza nominare Carete, si accenna al fatto che i mercenari conducono il comandante dove vogliono, come era successo nel caso di Artabazo.

¹²⁹ R.A. MOYSEY, *Chares and Athenian Foreign Policy*, *CJ* 80 (1985), p. 221-227.

riori, di fronte alla grande vittoria riportata dallo stratego sul satrapo Titraste, rimasto fedele ad Artaserse¹³⁰: è evidente che Carete, pressato dalle richieste dei suoi uomini in un momento di gravi difficoltà economiche per Atene¹³¹, ritenne opportuno mettersi al servizio di Artabazo per coprire le necessità di rifornimento e di paga del suo esercito¹³². In realtà Carete, nonostante la sua apparente indipendenza di comportamento, non aveva dimenticato la sua subordinazione ad Atene, tanto che obbedì prontamente, quando la città, spaventata dalle minacce di Artaserse, irritato per l'aiuto dato al ribelle Artabazo, gli ordinò, nel corso dell'anno 356/5 di cessare le ostilità in Asia¹³³; Carete, inoltre, aveva inviato ad Atene il bottino conquistato in Asia, nel quale era compreso un certo numero di buoi, che furono divisi tra le varie tribù in un banchetto pubblico¹³⁴.

A proposito della spedizione in Asia di Carete, il Moysey¹³⁵ sostiene che l'*ecclesia* ateniese non avesse stigmatizzato il comportamento dello stratego perché era dominata da elementi democratici, grazie ai quali, a suo avviso, egli aveva potuto mettere sotto accusa i colleghi Timoteo, Ificrate e Menesteo per averlo lasciato solo a combattere a Embata contro i *socii* ribelli: che i rapporti di Carete con gli altri strateghi che gli furono affiancati in varie imprese fossero difficili, viene ipotizzato dalla Roberts¹³⁶, in base al fatto che in tre diverse occasioni colleghi di Carete furono incriminati per i loro comportamenti durante le campagne militari: nel 366 toccò a Cabria per la perdita di Oropo¹³⁷, nel 355, come abbiamo già accennato¹³⁸, a Ificrate, Timoteo e Menesteo, nel 338 a Lisicle, accusato di essere il responsabile della sconfitta di Cheronea¹³⁹.

¹³⁰ Schol. Demosth. 4.19.

¹³¹ Sulle difficoltà, per Atene, di mantenere i mercenari, cfr. H.W. PARKE, *Soldiers*, p. 143-147; W.K. PRITCHETT, *op. cit.* (nota 108) II, p. 78-30; R.A. MOYSEY, *art. cit.* (nota 129), p. 221-227; alla crisi economica di Atene in quegli anni accennano, a più riprese, le orazioni dell'epoca, cfr., e.g., Isoc. 7.9; 8 *passim*; Demosth. 20.33, 23.209, 10.37.

¹³² Sul problema del costo dei mercenari in generale, cfr. L.P. MARINOVIC, *Le mercenariat grec au IV^e siècle avant notre ère et la crise de la polis* (tr. franc.), Paris 1988, p. 135-196.

¹³³ P. Erzherzog Rainer in *FGrHist* 105 F4; cfr. anche i riferimenti presenti in Diod. XVI 22.2.

¹³⁴ Schol. Demosth. 3.31.

¹³⁵ R.A. MOYSEY, *art. cit.* (nota 129), p. 225.

¹³⁶ J.T. ROBERTS, *Chares, Lysicles and the Battle of Chaeronea*, *Klio* 64 (1982), p. 367-371.

¹³⁷ Demosth. 21.64; Arist., *Rhet.* I 7.13, 1364a19.

¹³⁸ Cfr. *supra* p. 54 e nota 125.

¹³⁹ Cfr. Diod. XVI 88.1-2; Lycurg., in *Lys.* fr. 77 ed. Blass = 12.F1, p. 133 ed. Conomis; [Plut.] *X orat. vit.* 843D.

Secondo la Roberts¹⁴⁰, in tutti e tre i casi dietro le accuse agli strateghi ci sarebbe stato proprio Carete, anche se solo nel caso di Ificrate, Timoteo e Menesteeo, nel 355, le fonti accennano al suo ruolo di accusatore¹⁴¹: Carete avrebbe agito contro i colleghi per evitare di essere posto sul banco degli imputati, per non aver portato a termine con successo le imprese affidategli¹⁴².

Ai di là delle eventuali difficoltà strategico-militari incontrate da Carete nelle sue spedizioni, è significativo notare che in tutti e tre i casi sopra citati si possono scorgere chiare motivazioni politiche: nel 366, nel processo contro Cabria fu coinvolto anche Callistrato¹⁴³, uno dei capi dei moderati ateniesi¹⁴⁴; nel 355, le accuse contro Timoteo miravano a colpire quella che, secondo Isocrate¹⁴⁵, era una figura esemplare di generale 'moderato', ostile a una politica bellicistica a oltranza, tipica dei radicali; nel 338, il processo contro Lisicle, con le drammatiche imputazioni che, secondo Diodoro¹⁴⁶, l'accusatore Licurgo rivolse all' accusato, si inquadrava nel tentativo degli anti-macedoni di contrastare il disfattismo dei moderati filo-macedoni, come Focione e Demade, che, dopo Cheronea, volevano solo la resa senza condizioni di Atene.

Che in queste occasioni la posizione di Carete, esplicita nel 355, implicita nel 366 e nel 338, fosse in piena sintonia con la matrice democratica dei processi è dimostrato dal fatto che egli non sia stato affatto coinvolto nelle accuse mosse agli altri strateghi, nonostante avesse avuto incarichi di grande responsabilità e avesse compiuto azioni che si erano rivelate determinanti nel provocare la sconfitta ateniese¹⁴⁷.

Carete, del resto, fu sempre duramente attaccato dai moderati, che lo descrivono come un uomo rozzo, arrogante, bugiardo, di grande forza fisica, ma incapace di usare il cervello, pronto a seguire solo i propri

¹⁴⁰ J.T. ROBERTS, *art. cit.* (nota 136), p. 367-371.

¹⁴¹ Diod XVI 21.4.

¹⁴² Per un' analisi dei singoli avvenimenti, cfr. J.T. ROBERTS, *art. cit.* (nota 136), p. 367-371; *contra*, H. WANKEL, *Die athenischen Strategen der Schlacht bei Chaironeia*, ZPE 55 (1984), p.45-53, che non accetta l'ipotesi della Roberts proprio perché, secondo le fonti, Carete fu accusatore solo nel 355.

¹⁴³ Cfr. Plut., *Demost.* 5.1; Arist., *Rhet.* I 7.13, 1364a19.

¹⁴⁴ C. BEARZOT, *art. cit.* (nota 80), p. 25 e nota 59.

¹⁴⁵ Isoc. 15.101-139.

¹⁴⁶ Diod. XVI 88.1-2; cfr. Lycurg., in *Lys. fr.* 77 ed. Blass = 12.F1, p. 133 ed. Conomis; [Plut.] *X orat. vit.* 843D.

¹⁴⁷ Cfr., per i relativi particolari, J.T. ROBERTS, *art. cit.* (nota 136), p. 367-371.

interessi¹⁴⁸; Isocrate¹⁴⁹, che pure non lo nomina mai, nel descrivere il paradigma del cattivo generale, cui contrapporre la 'perfezione' di Timoteo, fa un ritratto che corrisponde in pieno a quello che di Carete danno le altre fonti moderate¹⁵⁰.

Nonostante la sua cattiva fama, Carete, secondo Teopompo¹⁵¹, era molto amato dal popolo e, secondo Demostene¹⁵², fu sempre riconosciuto innocente nei processi intentatigli in varie occasioni, a noi ignote, dai moderati, le accuse dei quali erano di stampo chiaramente moralistico, così come lo erano quelle rivolte a Caridemo: Carete, nonostante fosse cittadino ateniese per nascita, era accusato di pensare solo ai propri (sporchi) affari, trascurando gli interessi ateniesi¹⁵³, così come Caridemo, nella *contro Aristocrate*, era stato accusato di strumentalizzare gli Ateniesi per crearsi un forte potere personale¹⁵⁴.

In realtà la vera colpa di Carete, eletto per ben quattordici volte stratego dal δῆμος, sembra essere stata quella di 'impersonare', nella politica militante, il partito più estremo¹⁵⁵, che vedeva nella forza militare il caposaldo fondamentale della potenza ateniese; in quest'ottica, il suo allontanamento da Atene, dopo la richiesta di estradizione da parte di Alessandro¹⁵⁶, rappresenta bene la scelta pacifista voluta dalla città in quel periodo: Carete, come già Caridemo, non era uomo di compromesso, ma d'azione, e il favore da lui goduto presso il popolo poteva essere pericoloso per chi non voleva arrivare, in quel momento, alla guerra con il Macedone.

¹⁴⁸ Cfr., e.g., Aesch. 2.71-75; Theopomp. in *FGrHist* 115 F213; Plut., *Phoc.* 14.2-3; sulle false promesse di Carete, divenute addirittura proverbiali, cfr., e.g., Sud., s.v. Χάρητος ὑποσχέσεις, Zenob. II 13.

¹⁴⁹ Isoc. 15.101-139.

¹⁵⁰ Della stessa opinione, J. DE ROMILLY, *art. cit.* (nota 96), p. 237-240; C. BEARZOT, *Focione*, p. 111-114; contra, C. MOSSÉ, *op. cit.* (nota 122), p. 277-278, che considera le accuse di Isocrate rivolte a tutti gli strateghi e non a Carete in particolare. Ma che ci fosse una diretta rivalità tra Timoteo e Carete è dimostrato, dalla tradizione erudita di Plut., *An seni resp. ger. sit* 788D-E; *Reg. et Imper. apophtheg.* 187C, dove le accuse rivolte da Timoteo a Carete ricalcano quelle che Isocrate aveva lanciato, nella sua *Antidosis*, contro l'anonimo stratego che egli contrapponeva a Timoteo.

¹⁵¹ Theopomp. in *FGrHist* 115 F213.

¹⁵² Demosth. 19.332.

¹⁵³ Aesch 2.71-75.

¹⁵⁴ Demosth. 23 *passim*.

¹⁵⁵ Cfr. A. MOMIGLIANO, *op. cit.* (nota 73), p. 93.

¹⁵⁶ A.B. BOSWORTH, *op. cit.* (nota 32) I, p. 94, ipotizza che Carete si fosse allontanato da Atene subito dopo Cheronea per recarsi nei suoi possedimenti al Sigeo.

Inoltre, gli stretti rapporti che Carete aveva avuto nel 356/5 con il satrapo della Frigia Ellespontica, Artabazo, schierato al fianco di Dario nella resistenza ad Alessandro¹⁵⁷, poteva ampiamente giustificare una accusa di connivenza con il nemico, quando, nel 335, il suo nome fu incluso nella lista degli uomini da esiliare¹⁵⁸, tanto più che la presenza di suoi possedimenti personali al Sigeeo, cioè nel territorio della satrapia di Artabazo, indicava con chiarezza la persistenza di quegli antichi rapporti.

TRASIBULO, FIGLIO DI TRASONE, DEL DEMO DI ERCHIA¹⁵⁹

Dell'attività di Trasibulo durante la spedizione di Alessandro noi sappiamo soltanto che egli si trovava ad Alicarnasso, insieme ad Efialte¹⁶⁰, quando la città fu cinta d'assedio dal sovrano macedone: egli condivise la durezza di Efialte, consigliando a Memnone, il comandante persiano, di non concedere una tregua ai Macedoni per seppellire i propri morti¹⁶¹.

Per il resto su Trasibulo abbiamo solo testimonianze epigrafiche: nel 353/2¹⁶² egli consegnò ai responsabili della marina militare un gruppo di navi che erano state catturate al nemico durante una spedizione dello stratego Carete in Tracia¹⁶³; nel 326/5, invece, fu eletto stratego, con il compito specifico di procurare rifornimenti alimentari¹⁶⁴ e, forse per il successo avuto, fu onorato dai suoi soldati a Eleusi¹⁶⁵.

A prescindere dai suoi possibili legami di parentela con la famiglia di Trasibulo, figlio di Trasone, del demo di Colluteo¹⁶⁶, in base a queste poche e frammentarie notizie che abbiamo su di lui, possiamo dire che anche per Trasibulo, come per Carete, abbiamo un vuoto di informazioni per gli anni a cavallo del 330, mentre la sua riapparizione ad Atene nel 326, addirittura in veste di stratego, conferma in maniera incontrovertibile il suo ritorno in patria, in una posizione di grande pre-

¹⁵⁷ Cfr. H. BERVE, *AR* II n. 152.

¹⁵⁸ Cfr. *supra* p. 39 nota 32.

¹⁵⁹ J. KIRCHNER, *PA* I, n. 7304; J.K. DAVIES, *APF*, p. 238-240; M.H. HANSEN, *art. cit.* (nota 35), p. 169.

¹⁶⁰ Cfr. *supra* p. 41.

¹⁶¹ Diod. XVII 25.6.

¹⁶² *IG* II² 1613 ll. 268-278.

¹⁶³ Cfr. Diod. XVI 34.3-4, per la presenza di Carete in Tracia in quel periodo.

¹⁶⁴ *IG* II² 1628 ll. 37-42; per la carestia che dopo il 330 imperversò in Grecia, cfr. M. FARAGUNA, *art. cit.* (nota 14), p. 330-333; G. MARASCO, *Economia e storia*, Viterbo 1992, *passim*.

¹⁶⁵ *IG* II² 2969.

¹⁶⁶ Cfr. J.K. DAVIES, *APF*, p. 238-240, che sviluppa un concetto già accennato da J. KIRCHNER, *PA* I, n. 7304.

minenza, che in precedenza, per quanto ne sappiamo, non aveva ancora ricoperto¹⁶⁷.

Il ruolo ufficiale giocato da Trasibulo nel 326/5 prova, senza ombra di dubbio, che il servizio da lui prestato nell' esercito persiano non aveva affatto inficiato né i suoi diritti di cittadino, né i suoi legami con il corpo elettorale di Atene: se nel rimpianto espresso da Demostene per la morte di Efialte, di Caridemo e di Carete¹⁶⁸ si poteva già intravedere l'esistenza di un giudizio positivo su personaggi che nel 335 erano passati a quello che, ufficialmente, era il nemico della Lega di Corinto e, quindi, di Atene, che della Lega faceva parte, nell' elezione a stratego di Trasibulo nel 326/5 si ha una sicura conferma che tale giudizio positivo era condiviso da tutti quei cittadini che a lui decisero di dare il proprio voto.

*
* *

L'analisi della carriera dei quattro personaggi ateniesi che ebbero un ruolo di un certo peso nella guerra di Dario contro Alessandro ci ha dimostrato che essi anche in Atene erano legati al mondo militare: Carete e Caridemo furono addirittura due tra i più importanti strateghi del IV secolo, coinvolti, nell' arco di un trentennio, in tutte le guerre che travagliarono Atene, a sostegno di una strategia che considerava determinante, per la città, una politica estera aggressiva e non rinunciataria.

Inoltre, per almeno tre di essi, Efialte, Caridemo e Carete, le fonti ci testimoniano l'esistenza di forti legami con la democrazia radicale, in una lotta tesa a contrastare la spinta espansionistica di Filippo di Macedonia: non è certo un caso che Carete fosse stratego nella battaglia di Cheronea e che, subito dopo l'annuncio della vittoria di Filippo, Caridemo fosse stato scelto dal popolo per guidare la resistenza della città.

Essi, quindi, costituivano il braccio armato dei democratici, che privilegiavano lo scontro alla mediazione: è chiaro, dunque, che Alessandro non poteva consentire che essi rimanessero in Atene durante la spedizione in Asia, perché la loro presenza avrebbe costituito un pericoloso punto di aggregazione per le forze più radicali.

¹⁶⁷ L'ipotesi che Trasibulo nel 353/2 avesse la carica di stratego, accennata da J.K. DAVIES, *APF*, p. 239, e, con maggiore cautela, da M.H. HANSEN, *art. cit.* (nota 35), p. 169, non trova precisi riscontri nelle fonti.

¹⁶⁸ Demosth., *Epist.* 3.31.

Credo, allora, che, come ho già accennato¹⁶⁹, sia da rivalutare il passo di Giustino¹⁷⁰ nel quale si dice che, dopo la distruzione di Tebe e la richiesta, da parte di Alessandro, che gli fossero consegnati *oratores et duces* a lui ostili, si giunse a un accordo, in base al quale gli *oratores* poterono restare in patria, ma i *duces* dovettero essere mandati in esilio.

L'allontanamento di Efialte, Carete, Caridemo e Trasibulo segnò la perdita, per Atene, dell'ala militare della democrazia radicale e permise agli uomini del gruppo di Licurgo di tentare una politica di mediazione, che, abbandonata per il momento l'idea della guerra contro la Macedonia, badasse, come dice giustamente il Faraguna¹⁷¹, «a ricreare le strutture essenziali per un corretto funzionamento della vita della *polis*».

In quest'ottica, il destino di Efialte, Carete, Caridemo e Trasibulo è, per molti versi, analogo a quello dei mercenari ateniesi, molti dei quali furono presi prigionieri al Granico da Alessandro e deportati in Macedonia: essi erano ufficialmente esclusi dalla loro patria perché avevano tradito l'ispirazione panellenica che, secondo Alessandro, era alla base della guerra contro la Persia, in un momento nel quale Atene formalmente accettava questa impostazione voluta dal Macedone.

A prescindere dai morti, come Efialte e Caridemo, tutti gli altri, comandanti e semplici mercenari, sembrano scomparire, dopo Isso, dall'orizzonte ateniese, apparentemente perduti nelle grandi lontananze dell'Asia, ma, come abbiamo già visto, dopo circa otto anni, quando la città comincia a prepararsi alla guerra contro i Macedoni, riaffiorano i nomi di Carete e di Trasibulo.

E' evidente che è successo qualcosa di nuovo e di determinante, la cui analisi sarà al centro della seconda parte di questo lavoro, ma che ebbe, come prima conseguenza, la rivalutazione di quei capi militari democratici messi da parte nel 335: il filo sottile del loro legame con il *demos* ateniese, che sembrava essersi spezzato al momento dell'esilio, riappare più forte che mai e sembra concretizzarsi sia nella corona che i soldati offrirono nel 326/5 allo stratego Trasibulo, sia nel rimpianto che segna le parole di Demostene, quando ricorda i nomi dei δημοτικοί morti, tra i quali cita Efialte, Caridemo e Carete¹⁷².

¹⁶⁹ Cfr. *supra* p. 42-43.

¹⁷⁰ Just. XI 4.11-12.

¹⁷¹ M. FARAGUNA, *art. cit.* (nota 14), p. 285.

¹⁷² Demosth., *Epist.* 3.31.

In base a quanto abbiamo detto, credo si possa concludere che l'omogeneità della classe dirigente ateniese al tempo di Licurgo, su cui tanto oggi si insiste¹⁷³, non era nata spontaneamente da una sostanziale concordia politica, ma era il frutto dell'emarginazione forzata di quanti avevano posizioni più radicali e non erano disposti al compromesso con Filippo, prima, e con Alessandro, poi.

L'allontanamento, non solo di personaggi di spicco come Efialte, Carete, Caridemo e Trasibulo, ma anche degli anonimi cittadini che si arruolarono come mercenari al soldo della Persia, privò la città di una forte opposizione ad una politica di moderazione nei confronti della Macedonia: la 'pace' sociale e politica che regnò in Atene negli anni compresi tra il 335 e il 326 può essere vista come la conseguenza del prevalere all'interno dell'assemblea cittadina dell'ala moderata dei democratici, rappresentata, in particolare, da Licurgo, convinto che la città in quel momento non avesse la forza di opporsi militarmente ad Alessandro.

E', dunque, evidente che proprio l'assenza dalla scena politica ateniese sia dei cittadini arruolatisi come mercenari al soldo di Dario, sia dei loro principali referenti politici, come Carete e Caridemo, costretti all'esilio dopo la distruzione di Tebe, garantì il mantenimento della pace con la Macedonia tra il 335 e il 326.

In questo contesto, anche se la posizione di sicuri democratici come Licurgo e Demostene non può essere confusa con quella di personaggi come Focione ed Eschine, i quali si riconoscevano nella ideologia 'moderata' che era stata di Isocrate, non si può negare che l'emarginazione degli elementi più radicali della democrazia portò Atene ad adottare una politica che privilegiava lo sviluppo economico della città a scapito di una dura opposizione ad Alessandro¹⁷⁴.

I-20099 Sesto S. Giovanni (Milano)
Via Moroni 7A

Franca LANDUCCI GATTINONI

¹⁷³ Cfr. M. FARAGUNA, *art. cit.* (nota 14), p. 211-215, 242-243 e *passim*, che segue le orme di R. SEALEY, *art. cit.* (nota 80), p. 74-81; S. PERLMAN, *art. cit.* (nota 80), p. 327-355; F.W. MITCHEL, *Lykourgan Athens: 338-322*, Cincinnati 1970, p. 10-27.

¹⁷⁴ Cfr. M. FARAGUNA, *art. cit.* (nota 14), *passim*.

PHILAE UND DIE DODEKASCHOINOS IN PTOLEMÄISCHER ZEIT

EIN BEITRAG ZUR FRAGE PTOLEMÄISCHER PRÄSENZ IM
GRENZLAND ZWISCHEN ÄGYPTEN UND AFRIKA AN HAND DER
ARCHITEKTONISCHEN UND EPIGRAPHISCHEN QUELLEN*

I. EINLEITUNG

Zu allen Zeiten war die Geschichte des Gebietes am 1. Katarakt mit der Unternubiens verzahnt. Am 1. Katarakt lag die alte Reichsgrenze Ägyptens. In pharaonischer Zeit war das religiöse und militärische Zentrum des Kataraktgebietes die Tempel- und Festungsinsel Elephantine; Unternubien hieß Kush. In ptolemäischer Zeit war dieses Zentrum Philae; Unternubien oder ein Teil Unternubiens wurde mit dem Namen Dodekaschoinos bezeichnet.

Auf Philae stand eine der größten ptolemäischen Tempelanlagen Ägyptens. Der Isistempel von Philae ist, wie fast alle großen Tempel südlich von Theben, eine ptolemäische Neuanlage. Reste von Vorgängerbauten aus der pharaonischen Spätzeit lassen auf bescheidene Strukturen schließen; aus der römischen Zeit stammen nur einige Ergänzungen.

Der Eindruck einer auffallend starken ptolemäischen Präsenz in diesem südlichsten Zipfel des Reichsgebietes wird noch verstärkt durch eine wahre Masse von griechischen Inschriften auf Philae, die ein Mehrfaches aller anderen griechischen Inschriften im gesamten ägyptischen Süden, Theben eingeschlossen, darstellen. Die Inschriften von Philae kennen wir besonders gut, da der Isistempel, um ihn vor den Fluten des Nasserstausees zu retten, Stein für Stein bis hin zu den Fundamenten abgetragen und auf der kleineren, aber nicht überfluteten Nachbarinsel Agilkia wiederaufgebaut wurde. Bei diesem Ab- und Wiederaufbau gab die Anlage die Geheimnisse ihrer Baugeschichte preis. Reste von Vorgängerbauten, nubische Stelen und vor allem auch zahlreiche griechi-

* Dieser Artikel stützt sich auf meine bei Herrn Prof. Dr. H. Hauben, KU Löwen 1994 vorgelegte Diplomarbeit mit dem Titel *Der ägyptische Süden in hellenistischer Zeit. Eine Untersuchung ptolemäischer Präsenz an Hand der architektonischen Quellen und der griechischen Epigraphie im Raum zwischen Theben und Dakkeh*. An dieser Stelle möchte ich Professor Hauben für seine wertvollen Hinweise und seine Hilfe bei der Revision dieses Textes herzlich danken.

sche Inschriften, die auf wiederverwandten Blöcken in einer römischen Mauer verbaut waren, kamen zum Vorschein.

Bei den griechischen Inschriften fallen einmal besonders die Widmungsinschriften hochstehender Persönlichkeiten aus Verwaltung und Militär für Herrscher und Götter auf. Warum zog Philae ein solch starkes offizielles Interesse auf sich?

Zum anderen gibt es eine Fülle von Wandinschriften und Graffiti aus dem 1. Jahrhundert v.Chr. mit einer Art von Gebetsakt für die Göttin Isis. Ist der Tempel damals zu der Pilgerstätte geworden, die er bis in die Mitte des 6. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts blieb, als Kaiser Justinian ihn, den einzigen heidnischen Tempel in einem schon völlig christianisierten Umfeld, der vor allem auch Besucher aus Nubien angezogen zu haben scheint, schließen ließ¹?

Der Isis von Philae war in ptolemäischer Zeit das Zwölfmeilenland oder die Dodekaschoinos, das Gebiet um den und südlich des 1. Katarakts, unterstellt, wie wir aus einer Reihe hieroglyphischer Inschriften aus Philae und Unternubien wissen. Insofern könnte man Philae als das Herz der Dodekaschoinos bezeichnen. Wie weit reichte dieses Gebiet bis nach Unternubien hinein? Wie groß war die Dodekaschoinos? Wo lag ihre südliche Grenze?

Auf einer Strecke von ca. 140 km südlich von Philae stehen drei ptolemäische Tempel, der südlichste in Dakkeh, dem antiken Pselchis. In ihnen sind auch nubische Herrscher belegt, die den Ptolemäern dieses Gebiet abrangen. Diese Tempel sind Quellen, die über die ptolemäische und nubische Präsenz in diesem Raum Auskunft geben. Welche Bedeutung kam dem Tempelbau hier zu?

Auf all diese Fragen wollen wir im Folgenden eingehen. Wir ziehen dabei die reichen architektonischen, hieroglyphischen und griechischen Quellen, die uns Philae und Unternubien bieten, heran und versuchen, mit ihrer Hilfe ein Stück der politischen und religiösen Geschichte dieses Raums in ptolemäischer Zeit zu rekonstruieren.

II. DIE INSEL PHILAE

Philae war vor dem Bau des Nasserstaudamms eine der zahlreichen, dicht aneinander gedrängten Felseninseln, die über eine Entfernung von ca. 10 km die Nildurchfahrt versperrten. Sie bildeten den ersten

¹ U. WILCKEN, *Heidnisches und Christliches aus Ägypten. I: Das Christentum auf der Insel Philae*, APF 1 (1901), S. 396-407.

Katarakt, an dessen südlichem Ende die Inseln Philae, Biggeh und El Hesseh, an dessen nördlichem Ende die Insel Elephantine lag. Auf dem östlichen Ufer lag im Süden gegenüber von Philae das antike Konosso (vermutlich in der Nähe des modernen Orts Shellal), im Norden gegenüber von Elephantine das antike Syene (das moderne Assuan).

Der 1. Katarakt bildete in den Zeiten, in denen Unternubien nicht zum Reichsgebiet gehörte, die südliche Reichsgrenze. Diese war in pharaonischer Zeit durch die Festung Elephantine, deren Ursprung bis in die Anfänge der Reichseinigung zurückgeht, in ptolemäischer Zeit durch die Festungen Elephantine, Syene und Philae gesichert.

Philae war die kleinste der drei Inseln im südlichen Ausgang des Katarakts. Der Nil bildete hier eine große Ausbuchtung nach Osten hin, in der von Ost nach West in steigender Größenordnung die Inseln Philae, Biggeh und El Hesseh Platz fanden. Biggeh und Philae waren durch eine schmale Fahrrinne voneinander getrennt.

Die Siedlungsgeschichte Biggehs reicht wesentlich weiter in die Vergangenheit zurück als die Philaes. Während Biggeh bereits im Mittleren Reich besiedelt war, gibt es auf Philae keine in diese Zeit zurückreichenden Spuren. Auf Grund vorptolemäischer Siedlungsreste nimmt man eine Besiedlung zwischen dem Ende des Neuen Reichs und der ptolemäischen Zeit an, wahrscheinlich während der 25., äthiopischen Dynastie, die dort einen Stützpunkt angelegt haben könnte². Philaes Geschichte ist also relativ jung.

Der große Isistempel entstand erst unter Ptolemaios II. am Anfang der ptolemäischen Herrschaft. Welche Gründe sprachen bei der Wahl des Standorts des Isistempels für Philae gegenüber den viel größeren Nachbarinseln El Hesseh oder Biggeh? Sollte die Theorie F. Fourtaus stimmen, so durchfuhr man den Katarakt in nördlicher Richtung am östlichen Nilufer entlang³. Von Herodot wissen wir, daß die Schiffe bei der Durchfahrt durch den Katarakt getreidelt werden mußten (II 29). Herodot schreibt sogar, sie mußten von beiden Uferseiten aus mit Stricken gehalten werden. Dies ist bei der Breite des Nils an dieser Stelle und bei der Vielzahl der nebeneinander gelagerten Inseln nicht möglich. Also könnten die von Süd nach Nord fahrenden Schiffe nur von einem Ufer

² s. G. HAENY, *A Short Architectural History of Philae*, BIFAO 85 (1985), S. 201.

³ M. R. FOURTAU, *Notes sur la navigation dans la cataracte d'Assouan*, ASAE 6 (1905), S. 7.

aus, nämlich entlang dem östlichen Ufer getreidelt worden sein. Philae lag genau in der Mitte der Fahrrinne zwischen Biggeh und dem Ufer. Man konnte von Philae aus die Durchfahrt für aus dem Süden kommende Schiffe absperren. Hinzu kommt, daß eine heute noch erhaltene Verteidigungsmauer auf dem Nilufer gegenüber von Philae endete. So gesehen bot Philae gegenüber Biggeh und El Hesseh einen Lagevorteil. Dieser mag für die Standortwahl Philaes, das, wie wir sehen werden, in ptolemäischer Zeit eine Festung beherbergte, mitbestimmend gewesen sein.

Die o.a. Mauer, die heute noch bei Assuan zu sehen ist, ist in diesem Zusammenhang von großem Interesse⁴. Es handelt sich um einen 10 km langen, 5 m dicken und 10 m hohen Verteidigungswall, der von Assuan (dem antiken Syene) über Land bis Shellal (in der Nähe des antiken Konosso) läuft, und der das Grenzgebiet am Katarakt vor Überfällen aus den östlichen Wüstengebirgen schützen konnte. Die Mauer ist oben so breit, daß auf der Brüstung Soldaten patrouillieren konnten. Sie war praktisch uneinnehmbar. An ihrer Innenseite, zum Nil hin, verlief eine Straße, auf der man den Katarakt auf dem Landweg in Sicherheit umgehen konnte. Heute scheint festzustehen, daß die Mauer im Mittleren Reich unter Sesostri II. entstand wie viele Festungen in Ägypten und Nubien⁵. Sie wurde auch im Neuen Reich instandgehalten. In römischer Zeit wurde sie mit Wachtürmen ausgebaut. Offensichtlich wurde zumindest die Straße in ptolemäischer Zeit wenig genutzt, wie man aus einem Mangel an entsprechenden Funden schließen muß.

Die Mauer hat auf Grund ihrer Konstruktion Festungscharakter: sie ist in abwechselndem vollem Ziegelbau und Kasemattenbau angelegt. H. Jaritz setzt sie mit der in hieroglyphischen Texten genannten Festung Senmet (*Snmt*) gleich. Bisher glaubte man, daß Senmet, von dem es in den alten Texten hieß, es sei die älteste Stadt Unternubiens, der Name für die Insel Biggeh sei⁶. Dem hält H. Jaritz entgegen, Biggeh habe zwar im Gebiet Senmet gelegen, könne aber unmöglich Senmet selbst sein. Der Name Senmet bezeichne das gesamte Grenzgebiet zwischen Ägypten und Nubien, Straße und Mauer eingeschlossen, das eine Art Schleuse

⁴ S. H. JARITZ, *The Investigation of the Ancient Wall Extending from Aswan to Philae. Second Preliminary Report*, MDAIK 49 (1993), S. 108-112.

⁵ Zu den Festungen aus dem Mittleren Reich s. A.W. LAWRENCE, *Ancient Egyptian Fortifications*, JEA 51 (1956), S. 69-94; zur Datierung der Mauer s. H. JARITZ, *Ancient Wall* (Anm. 4), S. 112-114.

⁶ G. HAENY, *Philae* (Anm. 2), S. 201.

von einem Land zum anderen gewesen sei. Die Festung Senmet sei der Name für die Verteidigungsmauer gewesen⁷.

Sollte etwa das Phrourion Syene, das in einigen griechischen Texten aus dem 2. Jahrhundert v.Chr., die uns weiter unten beschäftigen werden, auftaucht, die griechische Bezeichnung für den Verteidigungswall und mit der Festung Senmet identisch sein? Sollten Festung Senmet und Phrourion Syene nur verschiedene Namen für ein und dieselbe Sache sein? Wir stellen die Frage, ohne eine Antwort bieten zu können.

Wie wichtig diese Mauer im Verteidigungsfall war, ist leicht einzusehen. Warum wurde sie anscheinend, wie man auf Grund des Mangels an materiellen Funden, die auf eine Nutzung schließen ließen, annehmen muß, in ptolemäischer Zeit nicht genutzt, wie dies übrigens auch bei den unternubischen Festungen aus dem Mittleren Reich der Fall war⁸? Unternubien scheint in der pharaonischen Spätzeit sehr dünn besiedelt gewesen zu sein. Ein langsamer Bevölkerungsanstieg scheint erst in ptolemäischer Zeit mit der Einführung des Schöpfrades, das die Bewässerung des Bodens möglich machte, erfolgt zu sein. Andererseits hatten die Nubier zu Beginn der hellenistischen Zeit ihre Hauptstadt von Napata (beim 4. Katarakt) nach Meroë (zwischen dem 5. und 6. Katarakt) verlegt⁹. Unter diesen Umständen mag man mit einem feindlichen Einfall von der Landseite her nicht gerechnet, und mag die Mauer ihre strategische Bedeutung zeitweilig verloren haben. Vielleicht erschien es ausreichend, sich gegen mögliche Einfälle vom Wasser her durch die o.a. Festungen abzusichern. Diese Lageeinschätzung mag es den Nubiern erleichtert haben, während der Zeit der großen Sezession bis nach Assuan vorzudringen, wie wir sehen werden.

In den Zeiten, in denen die Reichsgrenze bei Elephantine verlief, wie zeitweise im Mittleren und Neuen Reich, lag Philae in nubischem Gebiet. Dies galt auch in der säitischen Zeit, in der die Grenze knapp nördlich von Philae bei Konosso (am Endpunkt der Verteidigungsmauer) verlaufen zu sein scheint¹⁰. Unter diesen Bedingungen bedeutete jede Besiedlung oder Bautätigkeit auf Philae einen Schritt in fremdes Herrschaftsgebiet.

⁷ H. JARITZ, *Anicent Wall* (Anm. 4), S. 117.

⁸ S. A.W. LAWRENCE, *Fortifications* (Anm. 5), S. 69-94.

⁹ S. B.G. HAYCOCK, *Landmarks in Kushite History*, *JEA* 58 (1972), S. 228-229.

¹⁰ H. STOCK – K.G. SIEGLER, *Kalabsha*, Wiesbaden 1965, S. 13; so auch K. SETHE, *Dodekaschoinos. Das Zwölfmeilenland an der Grenze von Ägypten und Nubien (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens, 2/3)*, Leipzig 1901 (= Göttingen 1964), S. 6 Anm. 4.

III. BAUGESCHICHTE PHILAE

Die Baugeschichte Philae läßt sich rekonstruieren an Hand von Bau-resten und erhaltenen Strukturen. In diesen finden wir Kartuschen mit den Namen der Pharaonen, die eine Datierung ermöglichen.

Die ältesten Funde auf Philae stammen aus dem Neuen Reich. Beim Abbau des Tempels wurden einzelne ramessidische Blöcke gefunden, die jedoch auf Grund der geringen Anzahl den Schluß auf die Existenz eines Vorgängerbaus nicht zuzulassen scheinen, sondern möglicherweise nach Philae verschleppt worden sind¹¹.

Anders steht es mit den Funden aus der Zeit der äthiopischen Dynastie (ca. 750 v.Chr.), die die Namensringe des Taharqa aufweisen und aus einem Tempel des Amun von Takompso zu stammen scheinen¹². Amun war der Gott, dem die besondere Verehrung unter den äthiopischen Pharaonen galt¹³. Taharqa (701-663 v.Chr.) hatte vom Süden kommend ganz Ägypten erobert und unter seiner Herrschaft vereinigt. Der Tempel auf Philae könnte als Meilenstein der Nubier auf dem Weg nach Norden verstanden werden.

Der nächste Fund auf Philae stammt aus der Zeit der 26. saïtischen Dynastie, die auf die äthiopische folgte. Es ist ein Kiosk, der unter Psammetich II. (594-588 v.Chr.) erbaut wurde¹⁴. Das Leitmotiv dieses Pharaoh scheint die Bekämpfung der Gefahr gewesen zu sein, die von den nubischen Königen in Napata ausging, und die Rückeroberung des Gebietes südlich des 1. Katarakts¹⁵.

¹¹ G. WAHBAH, *Two Ramesside Blocks Discovered on Philae Island*, MDAIK 34 (1978), S. 181-183.

¹² G. HAENY, *Philae* (Anm. 2), S. 201; E. WINTER, s.v. *Philae*, in *LÄ IV* (1982), Sp. 1025, der von 18 Blöcken spricht. Zu Takompso, das heute in der Nähe des nubischen Dakkeh, ca. 120 km südlich von Philae gesucht wird s. Abschnitt 'Dodekaschoinos'.

¹³ E. DRIOTON – J. VANDIER, *Les peuples de l'orient méditerranéen. II: Egypte (Clio. Introductions aux études historiques)*, Paris 1962, S. 537: möglicherweise war ein Teil der Amunpriesterschaft aus Theben am Ende der thebanischen Theokratie nach Nubien ausgewandert und hatte dort in Napata eine dem Amun geweihte Theokratie errichtet, die u.U. am Ursprung der 25. Dynastie stand.

¹⁴ A. KADRY, *Remains of a Kiosk of Psammetichos II on Philae Island*, MDAIK 36 (1980), S. 293-299.

¹⁵ s. Stele des Psammetich II., E. DRIOTON – J. VANDIER, *Egypte* (Anm. 13), S. 594; zur Teilnahme von griechischen Söldnern an dem nubischen Feldzug dieses Pharaohs s. A. BERNAND – O. MASSON, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines d'Abou Simbel*, REG 70 (1959), und O. MASSON, *Nouveaux graffites grecs d'Abydos et de Bouhen*, CE 51 (1976), S. 305-313.

Der Kiosk des Psammetich II. war nicht dem Amun, sondern der Isis geweiht und bietet auf Philae¹⁶ das bisher älteste Zeugnis für die Isisverehrung, deren Kerngebiet das Nildelta war¹⁷.

Der folgende Beleg für einen Vorgängerbau des ptolemäischen Isistempels stammt aus der Zeit des Amasis (568-526 v.Chr.), der als General unter Psammetich II. nach Nubien gezogen war¹⁸. Diesem Bau sind ca. 300 Blöcke zuzuordnen, die beim Abtragen des Tempels als Füllmasse im 2. Pylon entdeckt wurden¹⁹.

Die einzigen Strukturen aus vorptolemäischer Zeit, die heute noch stehen, sind die Bauten aus der Zeit Nektanebos I. (378-360 v.Chr.). Es handelt sich um ein Portal zwischen den Türmen des 1. Pylons sowie einen Kiosk, der heute an der südlichen Spitze der Insel steht. Dieser Kiosk muß in ptolemäischer Zeit ab- und wiederaufgebaut worden sein; er war auf einem ptolemäischen Unterbau errichtet. Kleine, mit Farbe auf den Blöcken aufgezeichnete demotische Zahlen sollten die Bauleute in der hellenistischen Zeit (wahrscheinlich unter Ptolemaios VIII.) beim Wiederaufbau orientieren²⁰.

Abgesehen von diesen beiden Strukturen ist der heutige Isistempel eine ptolemäische Neuanlage. Der Naos hinter dem 2. Pylon und dem Säulensaal ist der älteste Teil; er wurde unter Ptolemaios II. begonnen, fertiggestellt und ausgeschmückt; eine Planung des Projekts unter Ptolemaios I. kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden²¹.

Das Interesse Ptolemaios' II. an Nubien ist belegt: Diodor berichtet über seine Expedition dorthin, die Annexion des Gebietes sowie die Schenkung des Zwölfmeilenlandes an die Isis von Philae²².

Eine Inschrift im Naos nennt bereits das Mammisi (Geburts Haus) vor dem 2. Pylon, dessen Planung und Baubeginn infolgedessen ebenfalls in die Regierungszeit Ptolemaios' II. fallen müssen. Die Haupttätigkeit an diesem Teil der Anlage fällt jedoch in die Zeit Ptolemaios' III.²³

¹⁶ Eine Inschrift zu Ehren der Göttin, s. A. KADRY, *Kiosk* (Anm. 14), S. 299.

¹⁷ G. HAENY, *Philae* (Anm. 2), S. 207.

¹⁸ E. DRIOTON – J. VANDIER, *Egypte* (Anm. 13), S. 597.

¹⁹ A. FARID, *Re-used Blocks from a Temple of Amasis at Philae. The Final Results*, *MDAIK* 36 (1980), S. 81-104.

²⁰ G. HAENY, *Philae* (Anm. 2), S. 206. Zur Baugeschichte Philaes vgl. auch Eleni VASSILIKA, *Ptolemaic Philae* (OLA, 34), Löwen 1989, S. 19-79.

²¹ s. G. HAENY, *Philae* (Anm. 2), S. 211.

²² Diodor I 37, III 36; s. dazu auch B.G. HAYCOCK, *Landmarks* (Anm. 9), S. 232.

²³ E. WINTER, *Philae* (Anm. 12), Sp. 1026; G. HAENY, *Philae* (Anm. 2), S. 211.

Unter Ptolemaios IV. entstand der kleine Tempel für den nubischen Gott Arensnuphis²⁴ am südlichen Ende des östlichen Säulengangs. Am Isistempel selbst sind Spuren dieses Herrschers nicht zu finden.

Als nächstes ist die Bautätigkeit unter dem nubischen König Arqamani²⁵ belegt. Dieser nahm Philae in der Zeit ein, als eine Rebellion gegen Ptolemaios V. ausgebrochen war, in der sich der gesamte Süden des Landes unter zwei Gegenpharaonen vom ptolemäischen Reich lossagte²⁶. Spuren seiner Bautätigkeit finden sich nicht am Isistempel, wohl aber am Arensnuphistempel. Diese wurden unter Ptolemaios V., als er auf Philae Fuß gefaßt hatte, (wenn auch nicht vollständig) beseitigt²⁷.

Von einem seiner Nachfolger, dem Nubier Adikhalamani, stammt das Fragment einer Stele, die in den Fundamenten neben dem Osteingang zur Säulenhalle gefunden wurde. Im hieroglyphischen Text bezeichnet sich der König als das lebende Bild des Re und der Erwählte der Isis²⁸.

186 v.Chr. gelang es Ptolemaios V., die Nubier aus Philae zu vertreiben. Am Isistempel wurde in den letzten Jahren seiner Regierungszeit nicht gebaut, wohl aber entstand ein kleines Heiligtum des Imhotep, der mit dem griechischen Asklepios identifiziert wurde. Über dem Eingangstor dieses Tempels finden wir eine griechische Bauinschrift, in der

²⁴ s. E. WINTER, *Arensnuphis. Sein Name und seine Herkunft*, RdE 25 (1973), S. 235-250. Man beachte, daß unter Ptolemaios IV. auch eine Tempelanlage in Dakkeh, ca. 120 km südlich von Philae entstand.

²⁵ Bei der Benennung und Datierung der nubischen Herrscher stützen wir uns auf L. TÖRÖK, *Geschichte Meroës*, in ANRW II 10.1, Berlin-New York 1988, S. 178-179: Nr. 30 Arqamaniqo = Ergamenes I., Zeitgenosse Ptolemaios' II., Nr. 36 (?) Arqamani = Ergamenes II., Zeitgenosse Ptolemaios' IV. und V., Nr. 39 Adikhalamani, gleicher Zeitraum, zwischen 207/206 und 186 v.Chr. Kürzere, aber ältere Abhandlungen zu der Geschichte dieses Gebietes findet man in L. TÖRÖK, *The History of the Dodekaschoinos between ca. 250 B.C. and A.D. 296*, ZÄS 107 (1980), S. 76-86, und L. TÖRÖK, *Economy in the Empire of Kush. A Review of Written Evidence*, ZÄS 111 (1984), S. 45-69.

²⁶ Zu den Gegenpharaonen s. W. CLARYSSE, CE 53 (1978), S. 243-253: »Hurgonaphor et Chaonnophris, les derniers pharaons indigènes«; K. VANDORPE, *The Chronology of the Reigns of Hurgonaphor and Chaonnophris*, CE 61 (1986), S. 294-302; K. VANDORPE, *City of Many a Gate, Harbour for Many a Rebel. Historical and Topographical Outline of Graeco-Roman Thebes*, im Erscheinen in S.P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Hundred Gated Thebes. Acts of an Interdisciplinary Symposium about Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period (P.L. Bat., XXVII)*, S. 203-239; ebenso in diesem Band ein Artikel von P.W. PESTMAN, *Haronnophris and Chaonnophris*, mit einer neuen Chronologie.

²⁷ E. LANCIERS, *Die ägyptischen Tempelbauten zur Zeit des Ptolemaios V. Epiphanes (204-180 v.Chr.)*, Teil I, MDAIK 42 (1986), S. 95: Blöcke mit teilweise ausgemeißelten Kartuschen des Arqamani wurden gefunden, in die mit roter Farbe der Name Ptolemaios' V. Epiphanes eingetragen war.

²⁸ A. FARID, *The Stela of Adikhalamani Found at Philae*, MDAIK 34 (1978), S. 54-56.

Ptolemaios V., Kleopatra I. und ihr Sohn, der spätere Ptolemaios VI., den Tempel dem Asklepios weihen.

Von Ptolemaios V. zeugt auch die auf der Pronaoswand des Mammisi eingemeißelte Kopie des Dekretes von Rosetta in hieroglyphischer und demotischer Fassung aus dem 9. Regierungsjahr des Herrschers mit einem Bericht über die Niederschlagung des Aufstandes im Delta²⁹. Eine zweite Inschrift, ebenfalls in hieroglyphischer und demotischer Fassung, berichtet von seinem endgültigen Sieg über die Rebellen im Jahr 186 v.Chr.³⁰.

Daß die Namensringe des Arqamani durch die des Epiphanes ersetzt worden sind, beweist, daß unter Ptolemaios V. auch am Arensnuphistempel gebaut wurde. Ein Relief in der Rückwand des Tempels zeigt den König beim Darreichen der Felder an die Isis, einer Wiederholung der Schenkung des Zwölfmeilenlandes an die Isis unter Ptolemaios II.

Ptolemaios VI. bestätigte diese Schenkung feierlich in seinem 24. Regierungsjahr (157 v.Chr.) durch ein hieroglyphisches Dekret, der sogenannten Dodekaschoinosstele. Der Text steht auf einem Felsen, der als Muttergestein vor dem 2. Pylon aus der Erde herausragt und in Stelenform behauen ist. Wahrscheinlich wurde der Felsen eigens für die Stele ausgespart. Möglicherweise ist sie ein terminus ante quem für den Abschluß der Mauerarbeiten am 2. Pylon.

Auch die Arbeiten am 1. Pylon scheinen unter Ptolemaios VI. abgeschlossen worden zu sein³¹. Möglicherweise wurde in seiner Zeit auch am Arensnuphistempel weitergebaut³².

Frühestens unter Ptolemaios V., vielleicht unter Ptolemaios VI. wurde der Dromos zwischen dem Landesteg und dem 1. Pylon erweitert und durch eine Ufermauer zum Fluß hin abgegrenzt³³.

Unter Ptolemaios VI. entstand der Hathortempel, der von seinem Bruder und Nachfolger Ptolemaios VIII. und seinen beiden Gemahlinnen Kleopatra II. und III. der Göttin Aphrodite geweiht wurde, wie uns die Bauinschrift *Phil.* I 17 lehrt^{33a}. In diese Zeit muß auch die zweite Erweiterung des Dromos und der Südterrasse fallen sowie der Bau einer neuen

²⁹ Philensis I = Dekret der Priestersynode von Memphis 196 v.Chr., s. W. MUELLER, *The Bilingual Decrees of Philae* (Egyptological Researches, 3), Washington 1920.

³⁰ Philensis II = Dekret der Priestersynode von Alexandria 186 v.Chr., s. a. W. MUELLER.

³¹ G. HAENY, *Philae* (Anm. 2), S. 212.

³² E. LANCIEERS, *Tempelbauten I* (Anm. 27), S. 96; E. WINTER, *Philae* (Anm. 12), Sp. 1022; s. a. die Inschrift *Phil.* I 11, die weiter unten besprochen wird.

³³ G. HAENY, *Philae* (Anm. 2), S. 223.

^{33a} A. BERNAND, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae I. Epoque ptolémaïque*, Paris 1969 (= *Phil.* I); E. BERNAND, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae II. Haut et Bas Empire*, Paris 1969 (= *Phil.* II).

Ufermauer³⁴. Dieses umfangreiche Projekt erforderte den Abriß und den Wiederaufbau des Kiosks Nektanebos I., die zwischen der Regierung Ptolemaios' VIII. und der Zeit Ptolemaios' XII. vonstatten gegangen sein müssen³⁵. Die Säulengänge, die den Dromos rechts und links begrenzen, stammen aus römischer Zeit.

Unter Ptolemaios XII. wurden die Reliefs auf dem großen Pylon angebracht, wo wir auch zahlreiche Besucherinschriften finden, die uns weiter unten beschäftigen werden.

IV. TEMPELBAU UND BAUPOLITIK

Mit Hilfe der Kartuschen in den Beischriften zu den Reliefs können wir die Namen der Herrscher, die in den Reliefs abgebildet sind, bestimmen. Die Datierung der einzelnen Bauabschnitte stützt sich vorwiegend auf die Zuordnung dieser Namensringe. Was aber hat das Erscheinen eines Herrschernamens in einem ägyptischen Tempel inhaltlich zu bedeuten?

Einerseits wird die Bautätigkeit an den ägyptischen Tempeln als Ablauf eines Bauprogramms der Priester verstanden, das mehr oder weniger automatisch vonstatten ging und in allen Tempeln mehr oder weniger gleich aussah: erst der Naos, dann die Säulenhallen, dann die Pylone, dann die Umfassungsmauern, dann die Kioske und Vorhallen. Die Einflußnahme der Herrscher auf diesen Ablauf wäre beschränkt, es handelte sich eher um Initiativen der Priesterschaften an den jeweiligen Tempeln. Wie gebaut wird, wäre mehr oder weniger in einem für alle Tempel ähnlichen Bauprogramm festgelegt, wo gebaut wird, der Initiative der Priester überlassen. Wenn ein Herrscher genannt oder abgebildet wird, habe dies hauptsächlich rituelle Bedeutung, da die Teilnahme des Herrschers, und sei sie auch nur nominell, eine notwendige Vorbedingung zur Erfüllung des Rituals war. Nach dieser Auffassung kommt den Bauaktivitäten an den ägyptischen Tempeln kaum staatspolitische Bedeutung zu, und wäre der Ausdruck Baupolitik nicht angebracht.

Zwar mag das architektonische Programm, nach dem ein Tempel ausgebaut wurde, für alle Tempel mehr oder weniger gleich gewesen sein, und mag die Durchführung bis zu einem gewissen Grade Sache der Priesterschaften gewesen sein. Die Entscheidung jedoch, wo ein Neubau

³⁴ G. HAENY, *Philae* (Anm. 2), S. 223, 228.

³⁵ Terminus ante quem: zwei Obeliskten vor dem Kiosk mit Reliefs Ptolemaios' XII., s. G. HAENY, *Philae* (Anm. 2), S. 223-224, 228.

entstand, und in welchem Umfang umgebaut oder erweitert wurde, suchen wir nicht bei den Priestern, sondern im Zentrum der politischen Macht, bei den Herrschern und ihrer Umgebung.

Es gilt zu bedenken, daß der Pharaoh als Vertreter der Götter auf Erden und fleischgewordener Horus betrachtet wurde. Als solcher stand er an der Spitze der Tempel und war im Rahmen des dynastischen Kultes sogar in diese integriert.

Nun stellen wir fest, daß im ptolemäischen Tempelbau völlig neue Akzente gesetzt werden. Es entstehen Großanlagen, vor allem im Süden des Landes, z.B. in Edfu, in Kom Ombo, auf Philae, in Nubien und zuletzt in Dendera, zumeist an Stellen, an denen höchstens ein kleiner pharaonischer Vorgängerbau existierte. Der ehemalige Reichstempel in Karnak wurde zwar nicht vernachlässigt³⁶, aber die Hauptbautätigkeit entwickelte sich anderenorts. Sollten diese neuen Standortentscheidungen dem Zufall, bzw. der Initiative der jeweiligen Priesterschaft überlassen gewesen sein, die ja in den meisten Fällen auf Grund der Kleinheit des Vorgängerbaus zahlenmäßig beschränkt gewesen sein muß?

Wir meinen, daß wir von einer politisch-strategisch beeinflussten Bauentscheidung durch die Herrscher und ihre Umgebung ausgehen müssen. So vermuten wir, daß hinter der Standortwahl Philae für den ptolemäischen Isistempel die Absicht stand, die Macht des alten pharaonischen Khnumtempels von Elephantine durch einen Konkurrenten zu schmälern, an dem im Gegensatz zum Tempel von Elephantine fast bis zum Ende der ptolemäischen Zeit eifrig gebaut und ausgeschmückt wurde. Dahinter stand wohl auch die Überlegung, von Philae aus nach Nubien hineinwirken zu können (wie dies ja bis ins 6. nachchristliche Jahrhundert geschah). Bei der Standortwahl Edfu für den ptolemäischen Horustempel glauben wir, eine beabsichtigte Konkurrenz zu Karnak und den bewußten Versuch zu erkennen, die Verbindung des Amuntempels nach Süden hin abzuschneiden. Wir sind mit anderen Worten geneigt, von einer Tempelbaupolitik der ptolemäischen Herrscher zu sprechen.

In dieser Meinung werden wir durch zwei Erkenntnisse bestärkt. Einerseits wissen wir aus den Priesterdekreten, daß die ptolemäischen

³⁶ Zu den ptolemäischen Bau- und Dekorationsaktivitäten in Theben s. G. DIETZE – J. QUAEGBEUR, *The Building and Decoration Activities at Thebes from Alexander the Great to Cleopatra VII. A Bibliographical Survey*, im Erscheinen.

Pharaonen den Tempelbau finanzierten³⁷. Die Gelder für Neubau oder Umbau kamen also größtenteils aus der Kasse der Herrscher. Dieser Tatbestand rechtfertigt den Ausdruck Baupolitik, ist es doch undenkbar, daß eine solche finanzielle Förderung ohne staatliche Lenkung und Auflagen erfolgt sein soll, und die Verwendung der Gelder den jeweiligen Priesterschaften freigestellt gewesen sein soll. Im Gegenteil ist anzunehmen, daß der Staat (Pharaoh, Herrscherhaus, Hof) Geld bereitstellte für Vorhaben, die von ihm als förderungswürdig erachtet wurden.

Der Ausbau von kleinen Heiligtümern zu großen Tempelanlagen wie z.B. auf Philae ging mit einer Erweiterung der Priesterschaft einher. Es ist wohl anzunehmen, daß höherenorts entschieden wurde, welche Priesterschaften zahlreich und damit mächtig werden durften.

Zudem wissen wir, daß jede Aufstellung einer Stele, jedes Anbringen einer Inschrift, jede Errichtung einer Skulptur der königlichen Genehmigungspflicht unterlag³⁸. Dies gilt a fortiori für die Tempelbauten: wie sollte das Anbringen von Reliefs mit dem Bildnis der Herrscher, von Beischriften mit ihrem Namen ohne ausdrückliche Erlaubnis der Herrscher oder ihrer unmittelbaren Umgebung erfolgt sein?

Damit soll nicht behauptet werden, daß der Herrscher bis in jede Einzelheit hinein seinen Einfluß geltend machte, wohl aber, daß von ihm und seiner Umgebung die großen Linien der Bautätigkeit, d.h. die Baupolitik festgelegt wurden, die mithin nicht nur eine Resultante religiöser Erwägungen, sondern vor allem auch strategisch-politischer Belange darstellte.

Aus dem Dekret von Kanopos unter Ptolemaios III. wissen wir von der Schaffung einer fünften Priesterphyle. Daß dieser Beschluß in die Wirklichkeit umgesetzt worden ist, wissen wir auch: die Autoren einer griechischen Inschrift, die wahrscheinlich von der Kataraktinsel Sehel zwischen Elephantine und Philae stammt (Th. Sy. 302), sind eben Priester der fünften Phyle, die sich gleichzeitig auch als Priester des Khnum und der vergöttlichten Ptolemäer bezeichnen³⁹.

³⁷ s. Priesterdekret von Kanopos SB V 8858 = OGIS 56 = A. BERNAND, *Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs*. 1. *Les confins libyques* (MIFAO, 91), Kairo 1970, S. 989-1036; Priesterdekret von Karnak in G. WAGNER, *Inscriptions grecques du temple de Karnak*, BIFAO 70 (1971), S. 1-21.

³⁸ s. Priesterdekret von Karnak, G. WAGNER, *Inscriptions* (Anm. 37), S. 7, Z. 16-18; Phil. I 19.

³⁹ A. BERNAND, *De Thèbes à Syène*, Paris 1989 = Th. Sy. 302; zu den Inschriften in diesem Band s. J. BINGEN, *L'épigraphie d'Hermonthis à Philae*, CE 65 (1990), S. 129-159.

Aus demotischen Papyri von Elephantine⁴⁰ ist uns weiterhin bekannt, daß die königliche Verwaltung bei der Benennung von Priestern mitwirkte, und daß die Priester für ihre Benennung wie beim Kauf einer Pfründe eine Abgabe zu zahlen hatten. Auch für die Priester der fünften Phyle wird diese Sachlage gegolten haben. Wir dürfen davon ausgehen, daß die Wahl nicht gerade auf staats- oder dynastiefindliche Elemente gefallen sein wird.

Umgekehrt waren die Priester in der Lage, beim Herrscher unter Umgehung alle untergeordneten Instanzen für ihre Belange einzukommen und diese durchzusetzen, wie uns zwei Inschriften aus Philae und Elephantine mit Petitionen der Priester und Antwortschreiben der Herrscher mit Bewilligung der Petition beweisen⁴¹.

Einen interessanten Hinweis auf die Verzahnung von weltlicher Macht (Pharaoh, Verwaltung, Militär) und ägyptischen Tempeln liefern uns mehrere Dokumente aus Edfu, Elephantine, Sehel und Philae. Aus Edfu kennen wir um die Wende des 2. Jahrhunderts zum 1. Jahrhundert v.Chr. mehrere Mitglieder einer Familie, die ein hohes Amt in der königlichen Verwaltung bzw. Armee und einen hohen Hofrangtitel innehatten und einen griechischen Namen trugen, mit dieser Funktion gleichzeitig aber ein hohes Priesteramt am Tempel von Edfu kumulierten, wobei sie als Priester unter ägyptischem Namen auftraten. Apollonios alias Pashai und Ptolemaios alias Pamenches waren also sowohl Beamte wie Priester, und je nach Umfeld Griechen oder Ägypter⁴².

⁴⁰ K.-Th. ZAUZICH, *Papyri von der Insel Elephantine (Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen in Berlin, 1)*, Berlin 1978: P. Berl. 13543.

⁴¹ Phil. I 19 und Th. Sy. 244.

⁴² Für die hieroglyphischen Stelen Kairo 22018 und 22050 s. J. YOYOTTE, *Bakhtis: religion égyptienne et culture grecque à Edfou*, in *Religions en Egypte hellénistique et romaine. Colloque Strasbourg, mai 1967 (Bibliothèque des Centres d'Etudes Supérieures et Spécialisées)*, Paris 1969, S. 127-141; die entsprechenden griechischen Grabstelen s. E. BERNARD, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Recherche sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Egypte (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 98)*, Paris 1969, Nr. 5 und 35; s. vor allem W. CLARYSSE, *Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Army and Administration, Aegyptus* 65 (1985), S. 62-64, der die Personen miteinander identifizierte. Dieses Thema war übrigens Teil eines durch ihn gehaltenen Seminars an der Universität Löwen im Studienjahr 1991/1992.

Für das 1. Jahrhundert gibt es aus Dendera (dem antiken Tentyris) weitere Beispiele für den Kumulus eines staatlichen Amtes (Stratege, Hofrangtitel *syngenes*) unter Verwendung eines griechischen Namens mit einem ägyptischen Priesteramt unter Verwendung eines ägyptischen Namens, s. dazu H. DE MEULENAERE, *Les stratèges indigènes du nome tenthyrite à la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque et au début de l'occupation romaine, Riv. Stud. Or.* 34 (1959), S. 1-25.

Aus dem Raum Philae, Elephantine, Sehel ist uns zumindest ein ähnlicher Fall bekannt: es ist Heroides, Sohn des Demophon (*Pros. Ptol.* II 2059, 2083, V 13081, VIII 259a, 2059)⁴³. Er vereinigt das Amt des Phrourarchen (Festungskommandanten) von Syene und Nubien, ausgestattet mit den Titeln Hegemon und Diadochos, und das Amt des Archistolistes an den Tempeln von Elephantine, Biggeh und Philae in einer Person.

Einen ähnlichen Kumulus können wir bei dem Epistrategen Kronios (*Pros. Ptol.* VIII 194b), Sohn des Epistrategen Kallimachos (*Pros. Ptol.* I 171, 194, VI 16273, 17147, VIII 171, 194)⁴⁴ vermuten, da seine Inschrift eine der wenigen griechischen Inschriften auf Philae ist, die im inneren Tempelbereich auf der Südfassade des 2. Pylons angebracht wurden, zu dem außer dem Tempelpersonal niemand Zugang hatte. Wir können vermuten, daß Kronios nicht nur königlicher Beamter und Offizier war, sondern auch der Priesterschaft angehörte.

Unsere Kenntnisse über diese Personen verdanken wir dem Zufall und dürfen davon ausgehen, daß es sich in anderen Fällen ähnlich verhielt. Wir sehen eine Verzahnung von staatlicher Verwaltung und Tempelverwaltung durch die Personalunion von Beamten/Militärs und Priestern, mit deren Hilfe sich der Staat der Tempel zur Durchführung und Durchsetzung von Verwaltungsaufträgen bedienen und seinen Einfluß in der Tempelverwaltung geltend machen konnte.

Ein letztes Argument für unsere Annahme, daß von Seiten der Herrscher und ihrer Umgebung aktiv Einfluß genommen wurde auf die Ausrichtung und den Ablauf des Tempelbaus, finden wir in den griechischen Bauinschriften, für die es gerade auf Philae und in Unternubien auffallend viele Belege gibt, und in denen die Herrscher das Heiligtum einer Gottheit widmen. Auf Philae kennen wir solche Inschriften von Ptolemaios III. (*Phil.* I 4 im Isistempel für Isis und Sarapis), Ptolemaios V. (*Phil.* I 8 im Imhotepempel für Asklepios), wahrscheinlich Ptolemaios VI. (*Phil.* I 11 aus dem Arensnuphistempel) und Ptolemaios VIII. (*Phil.* I 17 aus dem Hathortempel für die Aphrodite). In Nubien kennen wir zwei griechische Bauinschriften, eine von Ptolemaios VI. für die Isis und ihre Mitgötter aus Debod⁴⁵, eine aus Dakkeh von Ptolemaios VIII.⁴⁶

⁴³ *Th. Sy.* 302.

⁴⁴ *Phil.* I 58.

⁴⁵ *SB* V 8461 = *OGIS* 107.

⁴⁶ *SB* V 7907 = *OGIS* 131.

In diesen Inschriften übereignen die Herrscher, nicht die Priester, als Bauherren das Heiligtum der Gottheit.

Der Sachverhalt wird besonders deutlich in *Phil.* I 11 aus dem Arensnuphistempel. Der Name des Herrschers ist verloren und kann durch Ptolemaios VI. oder VIII. ergänzt werden⁴⁷. Das Besondere an der Inschrift ist, daß der Phourarch (wir nehmen an von Philae) an der Spitze der Mitglieder eines Heraklesvereins (dessen Mitglieder vermutlich Soldaten waren) sich als der Wiederaufbauer des Tempels zugunsten der Herrscher bezeichnet. Eine ähnliche Inschrift kennen wir aus Kom Ombo⁴⁸.

Nicht die Priester haben die Initiative zum Wiederaufbau ergriffen, sondern ganz ausdrücklich der Festungskommandant (der unter Umständen gleichzeitig Priester war), der offizielle Vertreter der Herrscher auf Philae. Undenkbar ist eine solche Initiative ohne Zustimmung der Begünstigten, d.h. der Herrscher oder ihrer Umgebung. Ein überzeugender Beleg für die politische Dimension des Tempelbaus in ptolemäischer Zeit und speziell auf Philae ist wohl kaum denkbar.

Von Bedeutung ist auch, daß die Bauinschriften, anders als die übrigen Tempelinschriften der Herrscher, nicht in Hieroglyphen, sondern in griechischer Sprache geschrieben sind, und die Gottheiten mit ihren griechischen Namen genannt sind. Hier sollte doch sicherlich griechische Propaganda betrieben werden.

Von den insgesamt 7 griechischen Bauinschriften verschiedener Herrscher, die uns im Raum südlich von Theben bekannt sind, stammen 6 aus der Region um den und südlich des 1. Katarakts. War das staatliche Interesse am Tempelbau in dieser Region besonders stark, sollte gerade hier im fernsten Süden griechische Präsenz bewiesen werden? War die strategische Bedeutung der Tempel in dieser Grenzregion größer als anderswo? Auf diese Fragen werden wir in den nächsten Abschnitten eingehen.

V. DIE GRIECHISCHE EPIGRAPHIE AUF PHILAE

Wir sagten bereits, daß Philae ein Vielfaches der griechischen Inschriften im gesamten übrigen ägyptischen Süden bietet. Es sind ihrer allein für die hellenistische Zeit weit über einhundert. Die in den Cor-

⁴⁷ O. RUBENSOHN, *Griechische Bauinschriften ptolemäischer Zeit auf Philä*, APF 3 (1903), S. 357-359; Ptolemaios VIII.; U. WILCKEN im Kommentar von A. BERNARD zu *Phil.* I 11; Ptolemaios VI. Wir schließen uns U. Wilcken an und glauben, daß der sicherlich während des Krieges zerstörte Tempel unter Ptolemaios VI. wiederaufgebaut wurde.

⁴⁸ *Th. Sy.* 190.

pora *Phil.* I und *Th. Sy.*⁴⁹ enthaltenen 66 nicht-fragmentarischen Inschriften aus ptolemäischer Zeit zerfallen in zwei große Gruppen: erstens die Inschriften aus einem frühen Zeitraum (3. und 2. Jahrhundert v.Chr.) mit mehreren Untergruppen, zweitens die Inschriften aus dem 1. Jahrhundert, die nur einen Typus aufweisen.

In der ersten Gruppe (3. und 2. Jahrhundert v.Chr.) fällt eine große Untergruppe mit 20 Belegen besonders auf⁵⁰: es sind offizielle Widmungsinschriften für Herrscher und/oder Götter auf stelen- oder pilasterförmigen Schmucksteinen.

Obwohl sie zahlenmäßig die größte Untergruppe bilden, dürfen neben ihnen vier weitere, wenn auch wesentlich kleinere und weniger auffallende Untergruppen aus dem frühen Zeitraum nicht unerwähnt bleiben: einmal die im Zusammenhang mit der Baugeschichte Philaes bereits behandelten 4 Bauinschriften, zweitens drei Priesterinschriften, davon zwei fast vollständig erhaltene, äußerst interessante Texte, die wir weiter unten behandeln werden. Eine dritte Untergruppe bilden die beiden für Ptolemaios VI. bestimmten Inschriften auf Statuensockeln (*Phil.* I 10 und 12), einem im ptolemäischen Ägypten seltenen epigraphischen Typus. Alle Belege aus diesen drei Untergruppen dürfen wir ebenfalls als offizielle Inschriften bezeichnen, weil sie die Namen der Herrscher und, so die Priesterinschriften, auch die von Amtspersonen enthalten.

Schließlich haben wir eine vierte Untergruppe mit 13 privaten Besucherinschriften⁵¹, zumeist nur Namen ohne Text, die teilweise auf den Steinen mit den offiziellen Inschriften formlos eingeritzt waren. Die Schreiber werden Personen im Gefolge der offiziellen Besucher gewesen sein.

Bei der Epigraphie in diesem frühen Zeitraum tritt eindeutig das offizielle Element in den Vordergrund: zählen wir zu den insgesamt 20

⁴⁹ Für die Datierung sowie Emendierung verweisen wir auf die Besprechungen von J. BINGEN, *Un épistratège ptolémaïque (Inscr. Philae 44)*, *CE* 44 (1969), S. 334-338; *Les épistratèges de Thébaidé sous les derniers Ptolémées*, *CE* 45 (1970), S. 369-378; *Philae I*, *CE* 45 (1970), S. 406-410; *Philae II*, *CE* 46 (1971), S. 410-412; *Les inscriptions de Philae des III^e et II^e siècles avant notre ère*, *CE* 54 (1979), S. 304-309; *Notes d'épigraphie grecque II*, *CE* 56 (1981), S. 134-144; *L'épigraphie grecque d'Hermonthis à Philae*, *ibid.*, S. 129-159.

⁵⁰ In chronologischer Reihenfolge: *Phil.* I 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, *Th. Sy.* 307, *Phil.* I 9, *Th. Sy.* 314, *Phil.* I 20, *Th. Sy.* 315, 316, 319, 320, 322 in oder in der Nähe der Westmauer gefunden; *Phil.* I 1, *Th. Sy.* 309, 13, 15, 16, *Th. Sy.* 318 in anderen Tempelbereichen.

⁵¹ *Phil.* I 66, *Th. Sy.* 308, 310, 311, 312, 313, *Phil.* I 15, unterer Teil, *Th. Sy.* 321, 323, 324, 325. Hinzu kommen die von J. BINGEN, *Philae II* (Anm. 49), S. 410-412, als ptolemäisch datierten Inschriften *Phil.* II 293 und 304.

Widmungsinschriften die Bauinschriften, Priesterinschriften und Sockelinschriften hinzu, so kommen wir auf 29 offizielle Belege gegenüber den 13 privaten Besucherinschriften.

Außerdem stellen wir fest, daß die frühe Epigraphie auf Philae eine verhältnismäßig starke Differenzierung an den Tag legt, da neben der zahlenmäßig stärksten Untergruppe mit den Widmungsinschriften auch andere epigraphische Typen vertreten sind (Bauinschriften, Priesterinschriften, Sockelinschriften und private Besucherinschriften).

Die zweite große epigraphische Gruppe auf Philae bilden die Wandinschriften (fast ausschließlich) auf dem großen Pylon des Isistempels. Wie J. Bingen überzeugend dargelegt hat⁵², reicht keine dieser Wandinschriften hinter die Wende vom 2. zum 1. Jahrhundert v.Chr. zurück. Die ptolemäischen Belege stammen also alle aus dem 1. Jahrhundert.

Es handelt sich um schmucklos und in mehr oder weniger ungelenten Buchstaben in das Mauerwerk eingeritzte, graffitiartige Texte. Meistens sind es Proskynemata, d.h. Verehrungsakte für eine Gottheit, fast ausnahmslos die Isis⁵³. Die Mehrheit der Belege ist privater Natur.

Die alten Widmungsinschriften in Stelenform, die Bauinschriften, Priesterinschriften und Statuensockelinschriften sind im 1. Jahrhundert v.Chr. vollständig verschwunden. Die relativ starke epigraphische Differenzierung während des ersten Zeitraums ist im 1. Jahrhundert einer starken Uniformität gewichen. Daran wird deutlich, daß sich die epigraphische Praxis auf Philae um die Jahrhundertwende geändert hat. Aus welchen Gründen dies geschah, wird noch zu erörtern sein.

1. Die frühe Epigraphie

a) Die offiziellen Widmungsinschriften

Wenden wir uns nun der großen Gruppe der Widmungsinschriften aus dem 3. und 2. Jahrhundert zu, meistens zugunsten einer hochgestellten Persönlichkeit aus Verwaltung und/oder Militär, ausgefertigt, d.h. in Auftrag gegeben von einer Person, die wir Autor nennen, und die in vielen Fällen der Phourarch von Philae ist. Diese Texte bezeichnen wir als

⁵² J. BINGEN, *Philae I* (Anm. 49), S. 406-410, und vor allem in *Les inscriptions de Philae des III^e et II^e siècles avant notre ère* (Anm. 49), S. 304-309.

⁵³ Zu dieser Gruppe gehören *Phil. I* 14 und alle weiteren ab *Phil. I* 21.

Inschriften mit offiziellem Charakter, der sich aus der Nennung der Herrschernamen und der Verwendung von Amtstiteln herleitet.

Das Aufbauschema ist fast in allen Fällen gleich: der Name der Herrscher und Götter (Dativ) steht am Anfang, u.U. folgt der Name einer Persönlichkeit, zugunsten derer die Inschrift angebracht wurde (hyper + Genitiv), der Autor, der stets der begünstigten Person rangmäßig untergeordnet ist, steht zum Schluß im Nominativ.

Fast alle diese Inschriften weisen auch eine formale Ähnlichkeit im Hinblick auf das verwandte Material auf: es sind fast ausnahmslos gleichmäßig behauene Steine mit Spuren von Schmuckelementen, z.B. Reste abgehauener Kronleisten, Spuren von Hohlkehlen, und mit sehr ähnlichen Abmessungen⁵⁴. Die Steine sind bis auf die Hälfte ihrer Dicke sorgfältig als Außenseite behauen, die innere Hälfte der Dicke und die Rückseite sind roh belassen wie bei Steinen, die für Mauerwerk bestimmt sind, das später verkleidet werden soll. Einige zeigen auf den Seitenflächen Verbindungsnuten, mit denen sie im Mauerwerk verankert gewesen sein müssen⁵⁵.

14 von den 20 Belegen waren in der Rückwand des Säulenganges verbaut, der in römischer Zeit auf der ptolemäischen Ufermauer errichtet worden war. Hinsichtlich ihrer Erstverwendung vertritt G. Haeny die u.E. überzeugende These, diese pilasterförmigen Vorsatzstelen hätten zur Gesimsverzierung der alten ptolemäischen Ufermauer gedient, die in römischer Zeit abgebrochen wurde und der Rückwand des Säulengangs weichen mußte, bei deren Bau die Steine wiederverwendet wurden⁵⁶.

Sehen wir uns den Personenkreis in diesen Inschriften einmal näher an. Uns fällt auf, daß die Belege unter Ptolemaios III. und IV. weder Amts- noch Hofrangtitel enthalten.

Diese tauchen erst mit *Th. Sy.* 314 für Ptolemaios V., Kleopatra I. und die Isis auf. Die Inschrift lautet zugunsten von Ptolemaios, Sohn des Eumenes, Kastoreios, aus der Hofrangklasse der τῶν πρώτων φίλων

⁵⁴ Maße und Beschreibung der Steine bei A. ROCCATI, der als erster diese Inschriften, die beim Abtragen des Tempels zum Vorschein kamen, veröffentlichte in *Nuove epigrafi greche e latine da File*, in *Hommages à M.J. Vermaseren (EPRO)* III, Leiden 1978, S. 987-996. Einige weitere, in den Fundamenten gefundene Inschriften veröffentlichte der gleiche Autor in seinem Artikel *Iscrizione greche da File*, in *Scritti in onore di Orsolina Montevocchi*, Bologna 1981, S. 323-331; Abb. s. *Phil.* I und *Th. Sy.*

⁵⁵ G. HAENY, *Philae* (Anm. 2), S. 227-229.

⁵⁶ Dies gilt für *Phil.* I 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, *Th. Sy.* 307, *Phil.* I 9, *Th. Sy.* 314, *Phil.* I 20, *Th. Sy.* 315, 316, 319, 320, 322 in chronologischer Reihenfolge. Zur Erstverwendung s. G. HAENY, *Philae* (Anm. 2), S. 227-229.

und Archikynegos. Der Autor ist ein gewisser Kleon, Sohn des Diogenes, Thessalier, Hegemon und Phrourarch von Philae. Diese Inschrift ist zeitlich die erste sog. 'Dreistufeninschrift', wie sie unter Ptolemaios VIII. auf Philae vermehrt erscheinen, um dann plötzlich gegen Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. vollständig zu verschwinden.

Mit *Th. Sy.* 314 erfahren wir auch zum ersten Mal von einem Phrourarchen auf Philae. Er ist der Autor, der die Inschrift anbringen ließ. Da diese sich im Tempelbereich befand, muß der Phrourarch, der offizielle Vertreter des Königs auf der Tempelinsel, bestimmte Befugnisse in Tempelangelegenheiten besessen haben.

Die Inschrift muß nach dem Ende der großen Sezession des Südens 186 v.Chr. entstanden sein, als Ptolemaios V. zum ersten Mal Fuß in diesem Teil seines Reiches fassen konnte. Wir wissen, daß er damals Philae besucht hat und dort den Imhoteptempel gegründet hatte (s. Bauinschrift *Phil.* I 8). In der gleichen Zeit taucht die Phrourarchie von Philae auf. Philae ist nun offiziell auch Festungsort. Offensichtlich bestand das Bedürfnis, nach den leidvollen Erfahrungen der Vergangenheit den südlichen Zugang zum 1. Katarakt abzusichern, nachdem es den Nubiern gelungen war, Philae einzunehmen (denken wir an die Bautätigkeit des Arqamani am Arensnuphistempel und die auf Philae gefundene Stele des Adikhalamani) und sogar bis Assuan vorzudringen: ein demotisches Graffito im Isitempel von Assuan berichtet von der Besetzung der Stadt durch die Nubier vom 10. bis zum 16. Regierungsjahr eines Ptolemaios. Es wurde von E. Lanciers unter Ptolemaios V. datiert und bezieht sich demnach auf eine Besetzung Assuans durch die Nubier im Zeitraum zwischen 196/195 bis 190/189 v.Chr.⁵⁷

Wie hatten sich die Priester von Philae bei der Einnahme der Insel verhalten? Wir haben keine Anzeichen für einen Widerstand gegen die Nubier. Die Tatsache, daß Arqamani auf Philae bauen ließ, daß außer vom Arensnuphistempel (s. Bauinschrift *Phil.* I 11) nichts über Zerstörungen, die auf eine gewaltsame Einnahme der Insel hindeuten würden, bekannt ist, läßt eher annehmen, daß die Priester mit den Nubiern kooperierten. Von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus wäre verständlich, daß Philae nun durch die Einrichtung einer Phrourarchie zusätzlich abgesichert wurde, und dem Phrourarchen Befugnisse im Tempel zugestanden wurden, wodurch eine gewisse Kontrolle über die Priesterschaft möglich wurde. Auch die Anbringung der Dekrete von Memphis (*Philensis* I)

⁵⁷ E. LANCIERS, *Tempelbauten* II, *MDAIK* 43 (1987), S. 174-175.

und Alexandria (Philensis II) mit einer Beschreibung der grausamen Vernichtung der Gegner des Herrschers könnte als eine Warnung verstanden werden an alle, die bereit gewesen waren, mit den Nubiern zusammenzuarbeiten.

Aus der Zeit Ptolemaios' VI. sind uns Widmungsinschriften nicht bekannt.

Unter Ptolemaios VIII. nehmen diese, hauptsächlich in Form der 'Dreistufeninschriften', merklich zu. Aus seiner Zeit stammen bis auf *Th. Sy.* 322 alle 9 späteren Belege. Die Besucher auf der Insel sind in mehreren Fällen der Epistratege (*Phil.* I 15, 20) oder der Stratege (*Th. Sy.* 319, 320). Hofrangtitel sind häufig, Syngenes, der höchste unter ihnen, taucht auf (*Phil.* I 15). Auch der Phourarch trägt nun einen Hoftitel, den untersten: er ist Diadochos (z.B. *Phil.* I 13). Häufig ist er der Autor, der die Inschriften anbringen ließ, so außer in der bereits behandelten Inschrift *Th. Sy.* 314 in *Phil.* I 11, 13, *Th. Sy.* 318, *Phil.* I 15, 20 und *Th. Sy.* 320.

Warum war Philae zu einem solchen Knotenpunkt geworden? Wurde in erster Linie der Tempel oder aber die Phourarchie Philae mit Besuchen beehrt? Was ging auf Philae vor? Vielleicht können die Priesterinschriften *Phil.* I 12a und I 19 etwas Licht auf die Verhältnisse werfen, die auf Philae selbst und im weiteren Umfeld herrschten.

b) Die Priesterinschriften

– Die Priesterinschrift *Phil.* I 12a

Dieser Text gibt uns eine wertvolle Auskunft über das Verhältnis zwischen Tempel und königlicher Verwaltung auf Philae und in Unternubien. Die Inschrift ist eine Petition der Priester des nubischen Gottes Mandulis⁵⁸ an die Herrscher, wahrscheinlich Ptolemaios VI. und Kleopatra II.⁵⁹

Sie berichten, daß seiner Zeit zwischen dem Strategen und dem Nubierhäuptling Phoi — (Z. 3, der Rest des Namens ist verloren) die Lieferung bestimmter Güter (Wein und wahrscheinlich Getreide, Z. 2-7) abgesprochen worden war, diese in der Zwischenzeit aber unterbrochen wurde. Die

⁵⁸ Die Reste eines Mandulistempels auf Philae, wahrscheinlich aber erst aus römischer Zeit, sind im östlichen Säulengang im Bereich des Dromos belegt, s. G. HAENY, *Philae* (Anm. 2), S. 222. Die Inschrift beweist, daß die Mandulisverehrung auf Philae in die ptolemäische Zeit zurückreicht.

⁵⁹ Z. 17 enthält das Regierungsjahr 33. Zur Datierung unter Ptolemaios VI. s. *Phil.* I, S. 127.

Priester bitten nun um ein staatliches Einwirken auf Ph — (Z. 12, ist er identisch mit Phoi — in Z. 3?), er möge die Lieferung wiederaufnehmen.

Die Inschrift zeigt uns deutlich die Verzahnung von weltlicher Macht und Tempelleben. Sie paßt sehr gut in den Kontext der Regierungszeit Ptolemaios' VI. Man kann sich vorstellen, daß nach dem Sieg über die Nubier 186 v.Chr. diese zu einem Tribut, wenn schon nicht für die Isis, so doch für ihren eigenen nubischen Gott verpflichtet wurden; daß sie in den frühen Regierungsjahren Ptolemaios' VI., in denen dieser in den Thronstreit mit seinem jüngeren Bruder, dem späteren Ptolemaios VIII., verwickelt war, wodurch er im Süden erst verhältnismäßig spät aktiv werden konnte (s.a. das Regierungsjahr der Dodekaschoinosstele 157 v.Chr.), auf Grund des Machtvakuum Gelegenheit nahmen, sich ihrer Tributpflicht zu entziehen, jetzt aber, im Jahr 33 Ptolemaios' VI. (149/148 v.Chr.) an diese erinnert werden sollten. Wir wissen, daß in diese Zeit die Rückeroberung Unternubiens fällt, die wir in einem der nächsten Abschnitte besprechen wollen. Die Priester konnten also die berechnete Hoffnung auf ein durch Erfolg gekröntes staatlichen Einwirken hegen. Daß der Text der Petition auf einer Stele aufgezeichnet wurde, darf als Zeichen für einen positiven Ausgang gelten.

Die Inschrift läßt erkennen, daß die königliche Verwaltung, hier der Strategie, eine wichtige Rolle auf Philae spielte und Angelegenheiten des Tempels, wie hier die Beziehung zu den nubischen Stämmen im Süden, für diesen regelte.

– Die Priesterinschrift *Phil. I 19*

In dieser Inschrift besitzen wir eine schöne Bestätigung für die oben an Hand der Widmungsinschriften festgestellte Zunahme von offiziellen Besuchern auf Philae. *Phil. I 19* ist geeignet, uns über die Verhältnisse auf der Tempelinsel gegen Ende der Herrschaftszeit Ptolemaios' VIII. aufzuklären.

Es handelt sich um drei Einzeltexte auf dem Sockel eines Obeliskens. Dieser war vor dem großen Pylon aufgestellt, in einem Bereich also, zu dem alle Besucher Zugang hatten. Er befindet sich heute in englischem Privatbesitz.

Der erste Text ist die Kopie eines Antwortbriefes der Herrscher Ptolemaios VIII., Kleopatra II. und III. an die Isispriester von Philae und Abaton mit der Bewilligung einer Petition, der zweite die Kopie eines Schreibens der Herrscher an Lochos, den Strategen der Thebais (*Pros. Ptol. I 10, 195, II 1940, 2088, III 6387, VI 15218, VIII 10, 195*), in dem

dieser angewiesen wird, den in der Petition geäußerten Anliegen der Priester stattzugeben, der dritte enthält die Petition selbst.

Diese ist an unterster Stelle in den Sockel eingemeißelt, dann folgen die beiden anderen Texte, die nur mit roter Farbe aufgemalt sind, erst das Schreiben an Lochos in der Mitte, dann ganz oben das Schreiben an die Priester. Die drei Texte auf dem Sockel müssen chronologisch gesehen von unten nach oben gelesen werden.

Auf den Seitenflächen des Obeliskens ist die hieroglyphische Fassung eingemeißelt.

In der Petition beklagen sich die Priester über den Besucherstrom von Strategen, Thebarchen, königlichen Grammateis mit zahlreichem Gefolge, dessen Versorgung sie, ohne daß der Tempel Schaden nehme, nicht mehr bewältigen könnten. Damit wird deutlich, daß der Tempel bisher für die Unterbringung und Verköstigung der Besucher aufkommen mußte. Nun drohen die Priester, wenn es so weitergehe, könne der Tempel die Opfer für die Herrscher nicht mehr gewährleisten.

Die Priester bitten um Freistellung: es möge dem Strategen der Thebais Lochos und allen anderen in Frage kommenden Personen (der Phrourarch von Philae?) verboten werden, die Priester zu belästigen. Die Priester wünschen eine schriftliche Bestätigung dieser Regelung, die sie, wie wir feststellen, mit dem an sie gerichteten Brief der Herrscher und der Kopie des Schreibens an Lochos erhalten haben. Sie bitten um die Genehmigung zur Aufstellung einer Stele mit dem Text des Vorgangs. Auch dieser Bitte wurde entsprochen.

Ab jetzt muß der Tempel nicht mehr für die Bedürfnisse der Besucher aufkommen. Kommt der Strategie mit Truppen, entsendet er Stellvertreter, Offiziere, Grammateis, so müssen diese die Kosten für ihren Aufenthalt selbst tragen.

Damit keinerlei Zweifel an der Sachlage bestehen kann, veröffentlichen die Priester die Texte an einem für alle sichtbaren Ort vor dem 1. Pylon.

Leider ist das Regierungsjahr im Schreiben der Herrscher an die Priester (*Phil.* I 19, Z. 10) verloren gegangen. Wir wissen aber, daß der in Z. 32 genannte Epistolograph Noumenios (*Pros. Ptol.* I 2, IV 10092?, VIII 2) zwischen 124 und 117 v.Chr. im Amt war, und der Strategie Lochos zwischen 127 und 117 v.Chr. belegt ist⁶⁰. Damit fällt der Vorgang in die

⁶⁰ L. MOOREN, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt. Introduction and Prosopography* (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, 37/38), Brüssel 1975, S. 170, Nr. 0269 (Noumenios) und S. 92-94, Nr. 056 (Lochos).

Zeit der Dreierherrschaft nach der Aussöhnung zwischen Ptolemaios VIII. und Kleopatra III. einerseits und Kleopatra II. andererseits, also zwischen 124 und 117 v.Chr.

Die Verbindung zwischen der Zunahme von Besuchern auf der Insel, wie sie durch die vermehrten Widmungsinschriften belegt ist, und der Priesterinschrift *Phil.* I 19 ist deutlich. Könnte die Petition der Priester und ihre Bewilligung nicht aber auch mit dem Verschwinden dieses Inschriftentypus irgendwie in Zusammenhang stehen?

Die schmucken Pilasterinschriften hoher Amts- und Würdenträger im Tempel waren in vielen Fällen durch den Phourarchen veranlaßt⁶¹. Höchstwahrscheinlich galt auch in erster Linie ihm, und nicht dem Tempel, der Besuch dieser Amtspersonen. Die Priester aber mußten für die Kosten aufkommen. Die Besucher dankten dem Tempel für seine Mühe- und Verwaltung in Form einer Widmungsinschrift, die an erster Stelle für die Herrscher, an zweiter aber auch für die Götter des Tempels bestimmt und vermutlich mit einem Obolus für den Tempel verbunden war. Diese Inschrift wurde bei dem Phourarchen in Auftrag gegeben, der sie im Tempelbereich, wahrscheinlich entlang des Dromos anbringen ließ. Im Laufe der Zeit, mit zunehmender Besucherzahl und zunehmendem Gefolge (Z. 25-26) konnte die Spende die entstehenden Kosten nicht mehr decken. Deshalb verlangte der Tempel, um einen modernen Ausdruck zu benutzen, 'getrennte Kassen'. Die Freistellung des Tempels von den Kosten für Besucher bedeutete, daß jetzt der Phourarch als offizieller Vertreter des Königs auf der Tempelinsel, die Kostenfrage regeln und entweder den Besucher zur Zahlung bewegen oder die Unkosten selbst tragen mußte. Wozu dann noch eine Spende an den Tempel, dem man nicht mehr zu Dank verpflichtet war, wozu dann noch eine aufwendige Inschrift?

c) Der Übergang zu einer neuen epigraphischen Praxis: *Th. Sy.* 322

Die letzte uns bekannte Inschrift, die dem alten Typus nahesteht, stammt aus dem 2. Regierungsjahr Ptolemaios' IX. (115 v.Chr.). Sie weist, sowohl was Form wie Inhalt angeht, schon wesentliche Unterschiede im Vergleich zu den früheren Widmungsinschriften auf. Es lohnt, sich etwas näher mit dieser Inschrift zu beschäftigen: wie die

⁶¹ *Th. Sy.* 314 (ca. 186 v.Chr.), *Phil.* I 11 (um 170 v.Chr.), *Th. Sy.* 318 (139/120 v.Chr.), *Phil.* I 15 (135-130 v.Chr.), *Phil.* I. 13 (131/130 v.Chr.), *Phil.* I. 20 (ca. 117 v.Chr.), *Th. Sy.* 320 (116 v.Chr.), *Th. Sy.* 322 (115 v.Chr.).

Priesterinschrift *Phil.* I 19 als Reaktion auf die Zunahme der Widmungsinschriften, so kann *Th. Sy.* 322 als Reaktion auf *Phil.* I 19 verstanden werden.

Die oberste(n) Zeile(n), die auch den Namen des Autors enthielte(n), ist (sind) leider weggebrochen worden (wahrscheinlich, um den Stein bei der Wiederverwendung für den Einbau ins Mauerwerk plan zu machen); der Rest des Textes ist vollständig erhalten.

In ihm rühmt sich ein Unbekannter, Sohn des Ammonios, er habe in den 42 Jahren, in denen er die Phourarchie über den τόπος ausgeübt habe, nie Anlaß zu Klagen gegeben, weder von Seiten der Ansässigen, noch von Seiten vorübergehend anwesender Fremder (Z. 4-5). Im Gegenteil sei er in Gegenwart der Strategen belobigt und anläßlich der im 2. Regierungsjahr (115 v.Chr.) unternommenen Reise Ptolemaios' IX. nach Philae ausgezeichnet worden.

Der Stein mit der Inschrift wurde, wie viele andere Widmungsinschriften, beim Abbau des Tempels in der Nähe der Westmauer gefunden. Seine sorgfältig behauene Oberfläche läßt sich mit den Schmuckstelen der alten Inschriften vergleichen. Die Abmessungen sind allerdings wesentlich größer: die Inschrift ist mit 163 cm Breite die imposanteste von allen Belegen aus dieser Gruppe.

Sie stellt auch in anderer Hinsicht einen Einzelfall dar. So sind die Buchstaben recht nachlässig eingemeißelt und weisen mitnichten die sorgfältige Schriftführung auf, die in den alten Widmungsinschriften festzustellen war.

Auch der Aufbau der Inschrift ist völlig anders. Die Widmung gilt nicht den Herrschern und/oder Göttern, nicht einer höhergestellten Persönlichkeit, sondern dem Autor in eigener Person. Bei den übrigen Widmungsinschriften war stets eine Abstufung von oben nach unten festzustellen. Hier ist es eine Abstufung in umgekehrter Reihenfolge: nachdem sich der Autor über die gesamte Länge des Textes selbst belobigt und seiner tadellosen Amtsführung gerühmt hat, wird der Herrscher ganz zum Schluß (Z. 18) erwähnt, jedoch nicht zu seinen eigenen Ehren, sondern zu denen des aus Anlaß der Reise des Herrschers ausgezeichneten Autors.

Dieser behauptet, 42 Jahre lang die Phourarchie über den τόπος innegehabt zu haben. Er nennt sich jedoch nicht Phourarch, sondern gebraucht das Partizip Präsens φρουραρχ[ῶ]ν. Er führt weder einen militärischen Titel noch einen Hofrang an. War der τόπος Philae, wo die Inschrift gefunden wurde, oder bezeichnete der Ausdruck die gesamte

Region, also die drei Phrourarchien Philae, Syene und Elephantine zusammen?

Wenn der Autor behauptet, daß er während dieser enorm langen Dienstzeit nie Gegenstand von Klagen gewesen sei, weder von Seiten der Bewohner der Tempelinsel, d.h. doch wohl hauptsächlich der Priester, noch von Seiten der Besucher, d.h. der Strategen und anderen Amtspersonen mit ihrem Gefolge, so klingt diese Formulierung wie eine Apologie. Der Leser kann daraus schließen, daß es, wenn nicht gegen den Autor, so doch gegen andere Personen, sehr wohl Klagen gegeben hat.

Formulierung und Sachverhalt erinnern uns an die Priesterinschrift *Phil. I 19*, in der gerade eine solche Klage, nämlich gegen den Strategen der Thebais, seine Stellvertreter und andere Verwaltungspersonen mit Gefolge und Streitkräften (*Phil. I 19*, Z. 22-23), die als die Ursache für die Unzufriedenheit ausdrücklich genannt werden, durch die Priester erhoben wurde.

Es scheint uns, daß die beiden Inschriften in Zusammenhang stehen, sowohl zeitlich (*Phil. I 19* zw. 124-117 v.Chr., *Th. Sy.* 322 115 v.Chr.) als auch inhaltlich. Es könnte doch sein, daß der Autor, der Inhaber der Phrourarchie, sich gegen die Klageführung der Priester wehren und von aller Schuld reinwaschen wollte. Daß ihm dies gelang, beweisen das Lob von Seiten seiner Vorgesetzten und die Auszeichnung während des herrscherlichen Besuchs.

Vielleicht kam der König auch deshalb nach Philae, um die Mißstände, auf die die Priester in *Phil. I 19* hingewiesen hatten, zu prüfen. Vielleicht konnte der Phrourarch bei dieser Prüfung seine Unschuld unter Beweis stellen. Vielleicht reagierte er mit seiner überdimensionierten Inschrift auf die Inschrift der Priester, die eine öffentliche Anklage gegen Amtspersonen und die künftige Freistellung für den Tempel enthielt. Die Inschrift der Priester war an einer für alle sichtbaren Stelle aufgestellt, die Inschrift des Phrourarchen, höchstwahrscheinlich im Gesims der alten Mauerbrüstung, ebenfalls. Sie tat kund, daß er, der Sohn des Ammonios, mit der Beschwerde der Priester jedenfalls nicht gemeint sein konnte.

Wie dem auch sei, *Th. Sy.* 322 ist die letzte Spur, die wir vom Amt des Phrourarchen auf Philae besitzen. Die Phrourarchie von Philae verschwindet ebenso plötzlich, wie sie aufgetaucht war, aus unserem Blickfeld. Wurde sie aufgehoben, hatte sie sich nicht bewährt? Oder hatte ihr Verschwinden mit dem Verlust Unternubiens zu tun? Wir gehen dieser Frage in den nächsten Abschnitten nach.

Die Inschrift *Th. Sy. 322* ist auch die letzte Inschrift auf einem der eingebauten Pilastersteine. Alle späteren Inschriften, die wir besitzen, sind Wandinschriften, zumeist auf dem großen Pylon. Es handelt sich ausnahmslos um schmucklose Einritzungen, z.T. Graffiti, die weder von der Form noch vom Inhalt her irgendeine Ähnlichkeit mit den alten Inschriften aufweisen.

2. Die Wandinschriften aus dem 1. Jahrhundert v.Chr.

Ein Mangel an Besuchern herrschte auf Philae auch in der Folge nicht, wie uns die Vielzahl von Wandinschriften aus ptolemäischer (und römischer) Zeit beweisen⁶².

An die Stelle der alten Dreistufeninschriften ist das Proskynema getreten mit dem typischen Aufbau: Name des Autors im Genitiv, dann das Wort Proskynema, dann die Gottheit, eingeleitet durch *πρός* oder *παρά*, dann die Familienmitglieder und Freunde (im Genitiv), wenn der Autor, wie in den meisten Fällen, in den Proskynemaakt nicht nur sich selbst, sondern auch seine nächste Umgebung einschließt oder ihn, wie vereinzelt, für eine höhergestellte Amtsperson verrichtet, so wie es in *Phil. I 51* Nikomachos, Stratege des Pathyrites und Latopolites (*Pros. Ptol. I 288*, VIII 288), für seinen Epistrategen, oder in *Phil. I 56* Sarapion, Sohn des Drakon, für den Epistrategen Kallimachos und dessen Kinder tun. In diesen beiden Fällen sind die drei Stufen erhalten, allerdings in anderer Form und Reihenfolge: an erster Stelle steht der Autor, dann folgt die Gottheit, zum Schluß erst die höhergestellte Person, der das Proskynema auch gelten soll (ohne *ὅπερ*).

Der Begriff Proskynema taucht mit diesen Inschriften zum ersten Mal auf Philae auf. Er bezeichnet einen Anbetungs- und Verehrungsakt vor der Gottheit. Es ist ein Begriff mit religiöser Konnotation. Gerade der Ausdruck eines religiösen Gefühls ist in den Wandinschriften im Gegensatz zu den älteren Texten besonders auffallend. Ob es sich um die Inschriften offizieller Besucher oder um private Inschriften von für uns in den Falten der Geschichte verschwundenen Personen handelt, fast überall sind Familie und/oder Freunde mit in den Anbetungsakt eingeschlossen⁶³. Die persönliche Beziehung zwischen Gottheit und Mensch tritt deutlich in den Vordergrund. In den älteren Widmungsinschriften

⁶² Davon sind 126 ptolemäische Belege in *Phil. I*, hinzu kommen 3 von J. Bingen als ptolemäische datierte Belege aus *Phil. II*, s. J. BINGEN, *Philae II* (Anm. 49).

⁶³ In 7 der 15 offiziellen Proskynemata ist dies auch der Fall.

fehlten die Götter teilweise vollständig, und wenn mit den Herrschern erwähnt, standen sie hinter diesen, wodurch der religiöse hinter dem weltlichen Aspekt zurücktrat. Die späteren Wandinschriften können eher als Ausdruck der Verehrung für eine Gottheit oder Anrufung dieser Gottheit mit einer unausgesprochenen Bitte um Schutz und Hilfe für sich, die Angehörigen und Freunde, und gegebenenfalls für einen Vorgesetzten verstanden werden. Wir glauben in den Proskynemata eine Tendenz zur Verinnerlichung feststellen zu können, bei der das religiöse Anliegen, die persönliche Zuwendung und Beziehung zu der Gottheit Vorrang haben vor der weltlichen Ehrung von Herrschern und hochgestellten Persönlichkeiten.

Außerdem ist aus der Göttervielfalt der Widmungsinschriften mit Ausnahme von drei Fällen⁶⁴ nur noch die Isis, die fast immer Kyria genannt wird, übriggeblieben, während früher neben ihr auch Sarapis und Horus, unter Ptolemaios VIII. dann auch Amun, Khnum und die Kataraktgötter eine Rolle spielten.

Die vernachlässigte Form mag ein Korrelat zu der Tendenz nach Verinnerlichung gewesen sein. Vielleicht legte man in dieser Zeit, in der die politische und gesellschaftliche Struktur in Auflösung und Umbruch begriffen waren, weniger Wert auf Äußerlichkeiten. Vielleicht hatte auch die Verfügung der Herrscher, die den Tempel von den Unkosten für die Besucher entlastete, zur Folge, daß die Praxis der schmucken Widmungsinschriften einschlief. Vielleicht waren die kundigen Steinmetze an einen anderen Bauort (Dendera?) abgezogen worden.

All dem entspricht eine entscheidende Zunahme von privaten Besucherinschriften. Im 1. Jahrhundert v.Chr. zählen wir von 45 nicht-fragmentarischen Wandinschriften 23 Belege ohne Amts- oder Hofrangtitel, 4 Belege, in denen ein Hofrangtitel, aber kein Amtstitel enthalten ist, d.h. insgesamt also 27 'private' Belege und damit weit mehr als die Hälfte. Im Vergleich dazu hatten wir für das 3. und 2. Jahrhundert v.Chr. 13 private Besucherinschriften und 29 offizielle Belege festgestellt. Das Verhältnis hat sich umgekehrt.

Diesem Zurücktreten der offiziellen Präsenz entspricht auch die seltene Nennung der Herrschernamen, die nur noch in 7 Fällen erwähnt werden⁶⁵. Alle 7 Texte sind Proskynemata. *Phil.* I 52 und 53 sind

⁶⁴ *Phil.* I 24: Isis und Götter von Abaton, *Phil.* I 55: Isis und Mitgötter, *Phil.* I 54, Isis und Götter von Abaton.

⁶⁵ Ptolemaios X.: *Phil.* I 27, 35; Ptolemaios IX.: *Phil.* I 40, Ptolemaios XII.: *Phil.* I 50, 52, 53, stets ohne Gemahlin.

Proskynemata des Epistrategen Kallimachos für Ptolemaios XII., dessen Name allerdings erst in den letzten Zeilen (Z. 8-9) erscheint, während der des Kallimachos in der ersten Zeile prangt. Die relativ regelmäßige Anordnung der 'Königsproskynemata' auf der Umrahmung des Nektanebo-Tores im 1. Pylon deutet darauf hin, daß das Hauptportal des großen Pylons als Ort für die Anbringung von Inschriften mit dem Namen des Königs vorgesehen war.

Außerdem stellen wir fest, daß das Proskynema zur offiziellen epigraphischen Praxis geworden ist. Auch nachdem um die Mitte des 1. Jahrhunderts unter Ptolemaios XII. die Reliefs auf den Pylonwänden eingemeißelt waren, blieb man bei diesem Brauch und ritzte die griechischen Inschriften in den Zwischenräumen zwischen den Reliefbildern und den dazugehörigen hieroglyphischen Beischriften ein, wodurch der Eindruck der formalen Verwahrlosung und des Zufälligen verstärkt wird. Wenn wir diese zum großen Teil ungelassen, schiefen Einritzungen mit der formvollendeten frühen griechischen Epigraphie vergleichen, hegen wir keinen Zweifel mehr, daß sich die Lage auf Philae geändert hat.

Die Rolle Philaes hatte sich gewandelt. Früher war es vor allem strategischer Außenposten, Festungstempel, Ausgangs- und Durchgangsstelle nach Süden in das Gebiet jenseits des 1. Katarakts gewesen. Im 1. Jahrhundert war dieser Raum, wie wir sehen werden, weitgehend verloren gegangen. Der Einfluß des Herrschers, der Zentralgewalt, war zu dieser Zeit wahrscheinlich im gesamten Süden bereits geschwächt. Außenpolitische Erwägungen, die Sorge ums Überleben, der bange Blick nach Rom hatten Vorrang. Philae lag weit weg vom aktuellen politischen Geschehen. Es scheint in dieser Zeit vor allem eine Gebets- und Pilgerstätte geworden zu sein.

VI. DIE HIEROGLYPHISCHEN LANDSCHENKUNGSINSCHRIFTEN AUF PHILAE UND IN UNTERNUBIEN

An diesem Punkt in unseren Betrachtungen wollen wir näher eingehen auf die politisch-strategische Rolle Philaes für den Raum südlich des 1. Katarakts und auf das Schicksal dieses Gebiets in unserem Referenzzeitraum. Einiges haben wir bereits aus der Baugeschichte des Isistempels in Erfahrung bringen können. Auch die frühen griechischen Inschriften von Philae gaben uns Auskunft über seine strategische Rolle. Mehr erfahren wir aus einer Reihe hieroglyphischer Inschriften, vor allem aus dem Isistempel, aber auch aus den unter nubischen Heiligtümern.

Zunächst jedoch möchten wir ein paar Überlegungen zu dem historischen Aussagewert hieroglyphischer Tempelinschriften im allgemeinen anstellen. Diese sind in der Regel Beischriften zu Reliefs mit den Darstellungen der Götter und Herrscher. In den meisten Fällen sind sie ritueller Art und beschreiben die Teilnahme der Herrscher an einem Tempelritual, die zur Erfüllung dieses Rituals notwendige Vorbedingung war.

So könnte man meinen, die Abbildung eines Herrschers in einem Relief und die Nennung seines Namens in der Beischrift bedeute nicht seine wirkliche, sondern nur seine symbolische Anwesenheit während der Durchführung des Rituals, und, verallgemeinernd, hätten die Tempelinschriften keine historische, sondern nur symbolisch-rituelle Bedeutung.

Eine Reihe von hieroglyphischen Inschriften auf Philae und in Unternubien werden uns allerdings lehren, daß die Ritualinschriften u.U. durchaus wörtlich zu nehmen sind und nicht a priori an ihrem Realitätsgehalt gezweifelt werden darf, da sich in diesen Fällen die Ritualinschriften mit 'historischen' Inschriften decken: es geht um die Land-schenkungsinschriften auf Philae und in Unternubien, in denen die Herrscher das Gebiet um den 1. Katarakt und südlich desselben der Isis von Philae unterstellen.

Wir haben weiter oben bereits verschiedene dieser Texte und Reliefs im Zusammenhang mit der Bautätigkeit am Isistempel erwähnt, so die Schenkung Ptolemaios' II., ein Schenkungsrelief Ptolemaios' V. im Arensnuphistempel und das Schenkungsdekret Ptolemaios' VI. auf der Dodekaschoinosstele. Wir wollen an dieser Stelle versuchen, die Schenkungsproblematik zu systematisieren.

Im Isistempel heißt es an mehreren Stellen von Ptolemaios II.: «Der gute Gott, der den Unterhalt gab seiner Mutter Isis, indem er ihr schenkte ihre Grenze bis an das Bogenland» (= Nubien)⁶⁶. Ptolemaios II. ist nach unserem heutigen Wissen der erste Pharaoh, der ein Gebiet, das er die «Grenze bis an das Bogenland» nannte, der Isis unterstellte. Mit diesem Ausdruck wird der Landstrich ausdrücklich als Grenzland gekennzeichnet. Das Land der Isis «schenken» heißt, es dem Isistempel von Philae anvertrauen.

Die Schenkung an die Isis wird zur Tradition, wie uns die Abfolge von Inschriften und Tempelreliefs zeigt, die einen Zeitraum von mehre-

⁶⁶ Übersetzung s. bei K. SETHE, *Dodekaschoinos* (Anm. 10), S. 13.

ren Jahrhunderten bestreichen und von Ptolemaios II. bis in die römische Zeit hineinreichen.

An nächster Stelle in dieser Tradition steht nicht ein ptolemäischer Herrscher, sondern der nubische König Arqamani, der, wie wir hörten, auch auf Philae belegt ist. Im unternubischen Thothtempel von Dakkeh (ca. 140 km südlich von Philae), der unter Ptolemaios IV. begonnen wurde, finden wir folgenden Text: «Ergamenes (Arqamani) machend das Denkmal für seine Mutter Isis, die Herrin von Abaton, die Herrin von Philae, die Herrin der südlichen Völker, ich schenke Dir Dein Grenzland bis Nubien [wir erinnern uns hier an den Text Ptolemaios' II.: «ihre Grenze bis an das Bogenland»] von Syene bis Takompso mit *itr* 12 im Westen, *itr* 12 im Osten samt den Dingen, die im Land sind, wie es getan haben die Könige, unsere Vorfahren»⁶⁷. In diesem Text taucht zum ersten Mal eine räumliche Begrenzung des Gebietes auf.

Itr oder *itr-w* war eine ägyptische Maßeinheit für die Bezeichnung einer Strecke. Die Gleichsetzung von *itr* und Schoinos geht auf den Bericht Herodots zurück, der den Schoinos als ein ägyptisches Maß vorstellt, das 60 Stadien betrage. Der Schoinos wird im Deutschen mit dem Wort Meile übersetzt (s. Zwölfmeilenland)⁶⁸.

Mit den Königen, seinen Vorfahren, in deren Tradition er sich stellt, kann Arqamani nur die Könige von Ägypten meinen, d.h. er reiht sich in die Abfolge der Pharaonen ein und erhebt damit den Herrschaftsanspruch zumindest über dieses Gebiet, wenn nicht über ganz Ägypten.

Wir wissen, daß Arqamani auf dem Vormarsch nach Norden war. Schenkte er dem Tempel von Philae ein Gebiet, das er erst noch erobern mußte, das Grenzland zwischen seinem Herrschaftsbereich und Ägypten? Was bezweckte er mit dieser Geste? Wollte er sich die Priester von Philae günstig stimmen und zur Kooperation bewegen?

⁶⁷ Übersetzung s. G. ROEDER, *Der Tempel von Dakke (Les temples immergés de la Nubie)* I, Kairo 1930, S. 250-251 (Roeder übersetzte irrtümlich das Wegemaß *itr* mit dem Flächenmaß Arure). Genauso will auch K. SETHE den Text verstanden wissen, s. *Dodekaschoinos* (Anm. 10), S. 18. Sethe und Roeder berichtigen die anderslautende Übersetzung des letzten Satzabschnitts bei H. BRUGSCH, *Die biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth nach dem Wortlaut einer altägyptischen Felseninschrift*, Leipzig 1891, S. 81: «samt dem Zehent auf ihrem Umkreis an Ackerboden». Die Schrift Brugschs bleibt jedoch auch heute noch interessant, weil sie fast alle Schenkungstexte aus dem Kataraktgebiet und Unternubien in Originalfassung und Übersetzung enthält und behandelt.

⁶⁸ Herodot II 6; zur Gleichsetzung des ägyptischen *itr* oder *itr-w* mit dem griechischen Schoinos, bzw. der deutschen Meile s. K. SETHE, *Dodekaschoinos* (Anm. 10), S. 11; Adelheid SCHLOTT-SCHWAB, *Die Ausmaße Ägyptens nach altägyptischen Texten (Ägypten und Altes Testament, 3)*, Wiesbaden 1981, S. 119-120.

Aus der Zeit Ptolemaios' V. haben wir nur einen Schenkungsbeleg in Form des Tempelreliefs im Arensnuphistempel, das den Herrscher beim Darreichen der Felder zeigt. Einen Text besitzen wir nicht.

Eine ausdrückliche 'historische' Bestätigung für den Schenkungsstatbestand bietet uns die Dodekaschoinosstele Ptolemaios' VI. aus seinem 24. Regierungsjahr (157 v.Chr.), in der er bestimmt, daß dem Osiris, Herrn von Abaton, und der Mutter Isis, Herrin von Philae, gehören soll «Das Feld von Takompso bis Syene an *itr* 12 auf der westlichen, an *itr* 12 auf der östlichen Seite, was ausmacht 24 *itr*, mit allem, was darin ist an Gegenständen, Pflanzen, Tieren und Menschen, wie es die Vorfahren früher getan haben ... Sie soll erhalten den Zehnten von allem, was herbeigeführt wird aus dem Nubierland»⁶⁹.

In der Dodekaschoinosstele wird das Gebiet mit den gleichen Worten abgegrenzt wie im Text Arqamanis. Es soll Osiris und Isis, d.h. dem Tempel von Philae und Abaton⁷⁰ gehören. Außerdem wird dem Tempel nicht nur das Land geschenkt, sondern auch eine Einnahmequelle eröffnet: der Zehnte auf die Einfuhren aus Nubien.

Die Ritualtexte und -reliefs mit der Schenkung des Feldes an die Isis werden also durch das Dodekaschoinosdekret Ptolemaios' VI. bestätigt.

Auch von Ptolemaios VIII. kennen wir Schenkungstexte aus Philae und Dakkeh. Im Toreingang des zweiten Pylons auf Philae finden wir eine Inschrift, die den Text der Dodekaschoinosstele fast wörtlich aufgreift: «Wir schenken Dir das Land von 12 *itr* auf der Westseite und 12 *itr* auf der Ostseite, macht 24 *itr*, nebst allen Dingen, die darin sind und nebst dem Zehnten von allen Dingen, die kommen aus Nubien, wie es die Könige, unsere Vorväter, getan haben, von Syene bis Takompso hin»⁷¹. Im Tempel von Dakkeh heißt es allgemeiner: «Darbringen des Feldes an seinen Vater Osiris und seine Mutter Wasret (Isis)»⁷².

⁶⁹ Übersetzung s. K. PIEHL, *Varia*, ZÄS 21 (1883), S. 130-131; Abschrift s. J.F. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie. Notices descriptives* I, Paris 1844, S. 200.

⁷⁰ Mit Abaton war die Insel Biggeh gemeint, wo sich eines der Osirisgräber befinden sollte. Das Abaton von Biggeh durfte nur von den philensischen Priestern betreten werden, s. E. WINTER, s.v. *Biggeh*, in *LÄ* IV (1982), Sp. 1022-1027.

⁷¹ Zu Ptolemaios VIII. s. H. BRUGSCH, *Hungersnoth* (Anm. 67), S. 130-131; unsere Übersetzung entnehmen wir H. JUNKER, *Der große Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Denkschriften. Sonderband)*, Wien 1958, S. 95, 157, 167, 173.

⁷² G. ROEDER, *Dakke* I (Anm. 67), S. 109.

Unter Ptolemaios IX. lautet die Schenkung: «Der seiner Mutter Isis, Herrin von Philae, ein Feld von 12 *itr-w* schenkt, im Westen und Osten des Wassers, von Takompso bis Assuan»⁷³. Die Begrenzung von Syene/Assuan bis Takompso ist die gleiche geblieben. Vom Zehnten auf die Einführen aus Nubien ist allerdings die Rede nicht mehr.

Unter Ptolemaios XII. ist von der zuvor sehr konkreten Abtretung nur noch ein vages Unterhaltsversprechen übriggeblieben, heißt es doch in einem Text auf dem großen Pylon: «Der Nil an Deiner Seite, das Feld bei Dir ... Neos Dynonisos ..., er bringt Dir *hw* (?) ... zu Deinem Unterhalt»⁷⁴.

Die älteste Schenkung des Zwölfmeilenlandes an die Isis stammt, soweit wir heute wissen, von Ptolemaios II. Die Unterstellung dieses Gebietes an eine Gottheit, d.h. einen Tempel, gepaart mit Abgabepflicht an den Tempel muß jedoch schon in pharaonischer Zeit bestanden haben⁷⁵. Wir besitzen das Fragment einer Inschrift vermutlich aus der Ramessidenzeit, das auf Elephantine in der Uferterrasse verbaut war, und in dem von einem «Feld» gesprochen wird, das dem Tempel gehören soll mit allem, was darin und darauf ist, und das der Befehlsgewalt königlicher Beamter oder Offiziere vollständig entzogen und nur dem Tempel unterstellt sein soll⁷⁶. Bei der Bezeichnung «Feld» denken wir unwillkürlich an das «Feld von 12 *itr* zwischen Syene und Takompso». Der Tempel aber kann hier nicht der Isistempel von Philae, der zu jener Zeit noch nicht bestand, sondern nur der Khnumtempel von Elephantine sein. Die Schenkungstradition reicht offensichtlich weit in die Vergangenheit zurück, der Schenkungsempfänger war allerdings ein anderer. Als Gottheit, der das Gebiet unterstellt war, trat vermutlich irgendwann im Zeitraum zwischen der Einführung des Isiskultes auf Philae und dem Bau des Isistempels unter Ptolemaios II. die Isis an die Stelle von Khnum.

Daß Khnum der Schutzpatron des 'Feldes' in pharaonischer Zeit war, wird bestätigt durch einen äußerst interessanten hieroglyphischen Text auf Sehel, der Kataraktinsel zwischen Elephantine und Syene. Es handelt sich um einen stelenförmigen Felsen in freier Natur, in den eine Inschrift

⁷³ In einem Zimmer im Ostturm des großen Pylons, s. H. JUNKER, *Pylon* (Anm. 71), S. 173, 174-175.

⁷⁴ H. JUNKER, *Pylon* (Anm. 71), S. 154.

⁷⁵ s. H. BRUGSCH, *Hungersnoth* (Anm. 67), S. 181; K. SETHE, *Dodekaschoinos* (Anm. 10), S. 19-26.

⁷⁶ Text in Übersetzung bei K. SETHE, *Dodekaschoinos* (Anm. 10), S. 13.

eingemeißelt worden ist, die von sich behauptet, ein Dekret des Pharaoh Djoser (Altes Reich, 3. Dynastie) zu sein⁷⁷. Darin verfügt der Herrscher, das Feld von Elephantine bis Takompso von 12 *itr* nach Osten und nach Westen solle Khnum, dem Herrn von Nubien, gehören mit allem was darauf und darin ist, die Fischer, Jäger und Handwerker sollten 1/10 ihrer Erzeugung an den Tempel abtreten, kein Beamter des Königs solle in diesem Gebiet Befehle erteilen oder Abgaben erheben, sondern das gesamte Gebiet solle ausschließlich dem Tempel unterstehen. Allein Khnum, der Herrscher über die Nilquellen, könne das Land aus der sieben Jahre dauernden Hungersnot erretten. P. Barguet vermutet in der Inschrift eine Fälschung aus der Zeit Ptolemaios' V⁷⁸. Während an der ptolemäischen Entstehungszeit der Sehelstele niemand zweifelt, halten einige Historiker den Ausdruck Fälschung für unangebracht, sehen in der Inschrift eher eine den ptolemäischen Umständen angepaßte Kopie eines viel älteren Dekrets und stellen den historischen Charakter der Schenkung des Gebiets an den Khnum nicht in Frage⁷⁹.

Wir stellen fest, daß unser Gebiet in pharaonischer Zeit offensichtlich dem Khnum unterstand und mit «Feld von 12 Meilen zwischen Elephantine und Takompso» bezeichnet wurde, in ptolemäischer Zeit der Isis gehörte und von Syene auf dem östlichen Nilufer im Norden bis Takompso im Süden reichte. Das Gebiet ist also spätestens in ptolemäischer Zeit dem Khnumtempel weggenommen und dem Isistempelel zuge schlagen worden. Vielleicht mußte der Tempel von Elephantine jedoch nicht das gesamte 'Feld' abtreten, vielleicht sollte die ausdrückliche Formulierung «von Syene bis Takompso» bedeuten, daß Elephantine selbst, vielleicht sogar alle Inseln, beim Khnumtempel blieben, und die Herrschaft der Isis sich nur über die Uferstreifen erstreckte. Darauf könnte auch die unter Ptolemaios IX. auftauchende Formulierung «am Wasser (entlang)» hindeuten⁸⁰. Auf jeden Fall mußte die ptolemäische

⁷⁷ s. dazu Miriam LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings*, III: *The Late Period*, Boston–Los Angeles–London 1981, S. 103; K. SETHE, *Dodekaschoinos* (Anm. 10), S. 19–26.

⁷⁸ H. BRUGSCH, *Hungersnoth* (Anm. 67), S. 181: ptolemäische Fälschung; P. BARGUET, *La stèle de famine à Sehel* (*BdE*, 24), Kairo 1953, S. 36: Fälschung aus der Zeit Ptolemaios' V., zuletzt E. LANCIERS, *De regeringsperiode van Ptolemaios V Epiphanes* (unveröffentl. Diss.), S. 211–213: Zeit Ptolemaios' VI. auf Grund hieroglyphischer und textformaler Ähnlichkeit mit der Dodekaschoinosstele auf Philae.

⁷⁹ z.B. K. SETHE, *Dodekaschoinos* (Anm. 10), S. 19–26.

⁸⁰ Über einen Streit, möglicherweise zwischen den Tempeln von Elephantine und Philae, um eine Insel berichtet die Inschrift *Th. Sy.* 244 aus Elephantine, in der die Khnumpriester die Insel Pso zurückfordern, die von jeher Tempelland gewesen sei (*Z.* 42). Pso

Schenkung eine Rivalität, ja vielleicht Feindschaft zwischen den Tempeln von Elephantine und Philae mit sich bringen.

Die Ähnlichkeit in den Texten der Hungersnotstele von Sehel und der Dodekaschoinosstele von Philae ist auffallend. Sollte die Datierung der Hungersnotstele unter Ptolemaios VI., wie sie zuletzt von E. Lanciers vorgeschlagen wurde, richtig sein, so könnte dies bedeuten, daß die Khnumpriester, die ja allein als Urheber der Sehelstele in Frage kommen, ihre auf einer älteren Tradition beruhenden Ansprüche wieder laut werden lassen wollten und das Zwölfmeilenland für sich zurückforderten. Richteten sich die Khnumpriester an den ptolemäischen Herrscher, der nach der Vertreibung der Nubier in diesem Gebiet wieder Fuß faßte? Hofften sie auf eine Bestrafung der Isispriester von Philae, die möglicherweise während des Krieges abtrünnig geworden waren und, wenn nicht zu den Nubiern übergelaufen waren, so sich doch nicht energisch gegen die Einnahme der Tempelinsel gewehrt hatten? Hofften sie darauf, daß Ptolemaios VI. den Isispriestern das Zwölfmeilenland wieder abnehmen und dem Khnum, wie es die pharaonische Tradition wollte, wieder zurückerstatten würde?

Oder stammt die Stele eher aus der Zeit Arqamanis? Wandten sich die Khumpriester mit ihrem Appell an den heranrückenden Nubier, der die Herrschaft über Ägypten anstrebte, und den sie an die altpharaonische Rechtslage erinnern wollten?

Wie dem auch sei, das Feld von zwölf Meilen blieb bei der Isis. Die Tradition lebt unter den ersten römischen Kaisern, besonders unter Augustus fort, der auf Philae für seine Schenkung genau die Worte Ptolemaios' II. wählte⁸¹. Im römischen Tempel von Dendur (zwischen Kalabsha und Dakkeh) wird sie wiederholt⁸². Auf Philae greift eine Inschrift

muß eine Insel in der Dodekaschoinos sein, denn in Z. 57 heißt es: «im dürren Grenzland zu Äthiopien». Bei dem Namen Pso denken wir unwillkürlich an Takom-pso, wie auch K. SETHE, *Dodekaschoinos* (Anm. 10), S. 26 Anm. 1, anklingen läßt. Da die Inschrift fragmentarisch auf uns gekommen ist, läßt sich die Insel nicht identifizieren.

Auf einen Streit um den Hoheitsanspruch über die Inseln deutet auch die Inschrift auf einem Felsen mitten im Nil in der Nähe von Kalabsha hin, die das Feld von 24 *itr* im Westen und Osten für die Isis, Herrin von Abaton, forderte. Da sich der Felsen mitten im Nil befand, kann die Inschrift nur bedeuten, daß die gesamte Oberfläche westlich und östlich des Felsens, also auch das Wasser und die Inseln darin, der Isis gehören sollten. Da die hieroglyphische Inschrift nicht datiert werden konnte, wissen wir nicht, aus welcher Zeit sie stammt. Heute ist sie von den Fluten des Nassersees überspült und für uns verloren, s. dazu G. ROEDER, *Von Debod bis Kalabsha (Les temples immergés de la Nubie)* I, Kairo 1911, S. 214.

⁸¹ K. SETHE, *Dodekaschoinos* (Anm. 10), S. 1: «ihre Grenze bis ans Bogenland».

⁸² A.M. BLACKMAN, *The Temple of Dendur (Les temples immergés de la Nubie)*, Kairo 1911 (= 1981), S. 18; H. BRUGSCH, *Hungersnoth* (Anm. 67), S. 79.

des Tiberius die ausdrückliche Formulierung der Dodekaschoinosstele Ptolemaios' VI. wieder auf⁸³.

Welche Bedeutung mag dieser Schenkungstradition zukommen?

Im ramessidischen Fragment von Elephantine untersteht das 'Feld' ausschließlich dem (Khnum-)Tempel und ist aus der königlichen Verwaltung völlig herausgeschält, ein weitgehendes Privileg. Diesem Zugeständnis muß eine Gegenleistung von Seiten des Tempels gegenübergestanden haben. Wir vermuten, daß der Tempel in dem 'Feld' ursprünglich schalten und walten konnte, wie es ihm beliebte, ihm dafür aber ein Sicherungs- und Verwaltungsauftrag über das Grenzgebiet oblag. Eine solch vollständige Abtretung, wie sie im Fragment von Elephantine, aber auch in der Hungersnothstele von Sehel zum Ausdruck kommt, bestand für den Isistempel nicht mehr: wir haben über die Einrichtung einer Phourarchie auf Philae berichtet, für die eine Stelle in der Dodekaschoinosstele Ptolemaios' VI. die hieroglyphische Bestätigung bieten mag, in der es heißt: «Der Schutz sei ihr (Isis). Behütet werde ihre Grenze»⁸⁴. Die Phourarchie von Philae stand vielleicht nicht nur für die Wahrung der äußeren Sicherheit ein, sondern hatte möglicherweise auch den Auftrag, die innere Sicherheit zu gewährleisten, d.h. den Tempel zu kontrollieren. Wir erinnern uns hier an die oben dargestellten Fälle von Personen, die gleichzeitig Priester und Beamte waren, für König und Tempel arbeiteten, und durch die eine staatliche Kontrolle über die Aktivitäten des Tempels gewährleistet werden konnte. Von einer weitgehenden Unabhängigkeit des Tempels in dem der Isis geschenkten Land kann wohl kaum die Rede sein.

VII. DIE DODEKASCHOINOS IN PTOLEMÄISCHER ZEIT

Unternubien war für Ägypten von großer strategischer und wirtschaftlicher Bedeutung. Südlich des 1. Katarakts lagen die Goldbergwerke, aus denen der sagenhafte Reichtum der Pharaonen stammte⁸⁵. Zum anderen war der 1. Katarakt eines der beiden wichtigsten Einfallstore für

⁸³ s. H. BRUGSCH, *Hungersnoth* (Anm. 67), S. 83.

⁸⁴ H. BRUGSCH, *Hungersnoth* (Anm. 67), S. 76-77, der statt «Grenze» «Nomos» liest; O. KAPER, z.Z. Kairo, dem ich an dieser Stelle für seine Hilfe bei der Lesung und dem Vergleich der Textvarianten in den Landschenkungsinschriften danken möchte, liest eindeutig «Grenze».

⁸⁵ s. Karten in J. BAINES –J. MALEK, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, Kairo 1992 (= 1980).

feindliche Angreifer. Ägypten konnte, wie dies während der 25. Dynastie der Fall war, von dort her erobert werden. Diese Schwachstelle war dementsprechend durch Festungen abgesichert. Unternubien gehörte sowohl in pharaonischen wie in ptolemäischer Zeit immer nur zeitweilig zum Reichsgebiet. Es war ständig bedroht durch nubische Stämme und Völkerschaften aus Zentralafrika. Je nach Stabilitätszustand in Ägypten und nach Stärke der politischen Organisation dieser Stämme wurde Unternubien von ihnen erobert. Mit dem Vordringen der Nubier nach Norden geriet das ägyptische Reich in Bedrängnis. In pharaonischer Zeit gelang den Nubiern sogar die Eroberung ganz Ägyptens. Sie traten mit den Pharaonen der 25., sogenannten äthiopischen Dynastie, mit Piankhi, Taharqa, Shabaka die Herrschaft vom Süden bis zum Delta an. Auch in ptolemäischer Zeit wurden die Nubier gefährlich: eine der größten Bedrohungen für die ptolemäische Herrschaft über Ägypten ging von dem nubischen Vorrücken unter den Königen Arqamani und Adikhalamani aus, die während der großen Sezession des Südens (207/206-186 v.Chr.) gegen die Südgrenze vorstießen, Philae einnahmen und bis Assuan gelangten.

Stellen wir nun die Frage, wieviel Land sich hinter dem Begriff «Feld von zwölf Meilen von Syene bis Takompso» verbirgt. Wie groß war das unternubische Gebiet, das der Isis von Philae geschenkt wurde? Bis wohin erstreckte sich die Dodekaschoinos? Welche geographische, politische und militärische Realität steht in ptolemäischer Zeit hinter diesem Begriff?

1. *Epigraphische und literarische Quellen für die Dodekaschoinos*

Der Name Dodekaschoinos taucht in hellenistischer Zeit auf. Eine erste Nachricht darüber finden wir bei Herodot⁸⁶: er berichtet über das Gebiet jenseits des 1. Katarakts, das er nur vom Hörensagen kenne, daß man von Elephantine aus (Philae erwähnt er nicht; der Isistempel stand zu seiner Zeit noch nicht) die Schiffe treideln müsse, die Reise dauere 4 Tage, die Strecke betrage 12 Schoinen; danach gelange man in eine Ebene, der Nil umfließe dort eine Insel, diese heiße Takompso.

Griechische Belege sowohl aus ptolemäischer wie aus römischer Zeit, in denen der Begriff oder der Tatbestand Dodekaschoinos vorkommen, sind äußerst spärlich. Wir kennen lediglich eine einzige griechische

⁸⁶ Herodot, II 29.

Inscription aus ptolemäischer Zeit, in der der Name auftritt: die Inschrift *SB V 1918* des uns bereits bekannten Heroides, Sohn des Demophon, Phourarch und Priester unter Ptolemaios VI. (*Th. Sy.* 302) und Ptolemaios VIII. (*Th. Sy.* 303). Sie wurde in Maharraqa, dem römischen Hierasykaminos, ca. 140 km südlich von Philae in der Nähe des römischen Isistempels gefunden⁸⁷.

Hinkommt als indirektes Zeugnis *Th. Sy.* 302 (152-145 v.Chr.), wo der Strateger Boethos, Sohn des Nikostratos (*Pros. Ptol.* I 188, II 1869, VI 16240, VIII 188, 1869) als Gründer zweier Städte in der «Triakontaschoinos» bezeichnet wird (Z. 9-11). Wir entnehmen daraus, daß gegen Ende der Herrschaftszeit Ptolemaios' VI. das Gebiet nach Süden hin von 12 auf 30 Schoinen erweitert worden war.

Als indirektes Zeugnis für ptolemäischen Einfluß in der Region kann auch Agatharchides' Beschreibung der Goldbergwerke vermutlich des Wadi Allaqi (gegenüber von Dakkeh, ca. 140 km südlich von Philae) wahrscheinlich unter Ptolemaios VIII. gelten⁸⁸.

Die Nachrichten über die ptolemäische Dodekaschoinos sind also äußerst karg. Von den in *Th. Sy.* 302 genannten Städten Philometor und Kleopatra in der Triakontaschoinos fehlt jede Spur. Reste ptolemäischer Niederlassungen sind unbedeutend im Vergleich zu der dichten Streuung von vor allem Festungen aus pharaonischer Zeit⁸⁹, die offensichtlich ab der pharaonischen Spätzeit verwahrlost wurden und in ptolemäischer Zeit verlassen blieben. Von ptolemäischen Festungsbauten ist nichts bekannt⁹⁰.

Bis wohin erstreckte sich das Land von 12 Meilen? Wie steht es mit dem ptolemäischen Herrschaftsanspruch über das Gebiet, wie mit seiner Eroberung und Sicherung?

Herodots Bericht über die Kataraktdurchfahrt und die Reise durch ein Gebiet von 12 Schoinen von Elephantine bis Takompo deckt sich mit den hieroglyphischen Landschenkungstexten, die von einem Feld von 12

⁸⁷ Auch aus römischer Zeit sind Belege für den Namen eher spärlich: *SB V 8901* = *Phil.* II 161 aus der Zeit Vespasians; *SB V 8534* aus Kalabsha, 248/249 n.Chr., *SB V 6953* aus Dakkeh, 3. Jahrhundert n.Chr., *SB V 8433* = *Phil.* II 307, späte Kaiserzeit sowie als literarische Quelle Ptolemaios IV 5.74.

⁸⁸ Agatharchides 5.23a-29b; s. a. St.M. BURSTEIN (ed., trad.), *Agatharchides of Cnidus. On the Erythrean Sea*, London 1989, S. 15-17.

⁸⁹ s. Karte bei Berta PORTER – Rosalind L.B. MOSS, *Topological Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*. VII: Nubia, the Deserts and Outside Egypt, Oxford 1951.

⁹⁰ s. dazu A.W. LAWRENCE, *Fortifications* (Anm. 5), S. 69-94.

itr zwischen Elephantine und Takompso (Hungersnotstele von Sehel) oder Syene bis Takompso (Texte von Philae und Dakkeh) sprechen.

Wo aber lag Takompso? Bei Philae, wo K. Sethe es zunächst vermutete⁹¹, oder ist es die Insel Djerer in der Nähe von Dakkeh, wie man heute allgemein annimmt⁹²?

Die antiken Nachrichten über Takompso sind verwirrend. Von den einen wird es als Insel⁹³, von den anderen als Ortschaft⁹⁴ bezeichnet, die Angaben über die Lage sind vage. Es konnte bisher nicht mit einem modernen Ort identifiziert werden.

K. Sethe suchte es zunächst am Ausgang des Katarakts, unweit von Philae. Das Feld von 12 Schoinen setzte er mit dem Kataraktgebiet zwischen Syene und Konosso (bei Philae), d.h. mit einer Strecke von ca. 10,5 km gleich. In seiner Dodekaschoinos-Schrift legte er die Argumente für seine These überzeugend dar. Demgegenüber wurde geltend gemacht, Herodot habe den Schoinos mit 60 Stadien berechnet (1 Schoinos = 11,88 km), womit man bei 12 Schoinen auf eine Länge von 142,56 km komme, während die Durchfahrt durch den Katarakt nur eine Strecke von 10,5 km darstelle. 10,5 km könnten aber unmöglich 12 Schoinen betragen, ansonsten müsse man für den Schoinos eine nirgends belegte Länge von weniger als 1 km ansetzen. Dieser Kritik entgegnete Sethe mit dem Hinweis, Herodot selbst habe sich in seinem Werk nicht einheitlich an die Gleichsetzung 1 Schoinos = 60 Stadien gehalten, sondern auch andere Äquivalenzen benutzt; es könne bei der Unterschiedlichkeit der Gleichsetzungen sehr wohl sein, daß er für das Kataraktgebiet einen besonders kurzen Schoinos angesetzt habe⁹⁵. Dieser Vermutung entsprechen die Befindungen von Adelheid Schlott-Schwab, die auf Grund ihrer Berechnungen zu dem Schluß kam, das ägyptische *itr*, bzw. der griechische *schoinos*, sei keineswegs eine feststehende Maßeinheit, sondern ein veränderliches Wegemaß gewesen, das die Wegstrecke bezeichnete, über die die Schiffe an einem Tag getreidelt werden konnten; es habe je nach Schwierigkeit der zu trei-

⁹¹ *Dodekaschoinos* (Anm. 10), passim.

⁹² z. B. Adelheid SCHLOTT-SCHWAB, s.v. *Dodekaschoinos*, in *LÄ I* (1975), Sp. 1112-1113.

⁹³ Herodot II 29; Hekataios v. Milet bei Stephan v. Byzanz, s. K. SETHE, *Dodekaschoinos* (Anm. 10), S. 5.

⁹⁴ Aristagoras v. Milet bei Stephan v. Byzanz: κόμη an der Grenze zwischen Äthiopien und Libyen; Juba und Bion von Soloi: nächstes *oppidum* südlich von Syene auf beiden Ufern des Nils, Ptolemaios: Ortschaft, s. K. SETHE, *Dodekaschoinos* (Anm. 10), S. 5.

⁹⁵ K. SETHE, *Dodekaschoinos* (Anm. 10), S. 7-8.

delnden Strecke länger oder kürzer sein können⁹⁶. Ein besonders kurzer *itr/schoinos* im schwierigen Gelände des 1. Kataraktes ist mithin keineswegs ausgeschlossen.

Zur Unterstützung seiner Hypothese führte Sethe zudem an, daß die Schenkung eines Landstreifens von 10-11 km an einen Tempel sehr viel wahrscheinlicher sei als die eines Gebietes von ca. 140 km Länge. Demnach wäre die Dodekaschoinos in ptolemäischer Zeit nichts anderes gewesen als die griechische Bezeichnung für das Kataraktgebiet.

Als 1904 einige hieroglyphische Inschriften im römischen Tempel von Hierasykaminos (ca. 10 km südlich von Dakkeh, ca. 150 km südlich von Philae) entdeckt wurden, widerrief K. Sethe seinen Standpunkt und pflichtete den Historikern bei, die den Schoinos mit 60 Stadien berechneten und zu einer Ausdehnung der Dodekaschoinos von ca. 140 km kamen: in diesen Inschriften war nämlich die Rede von «Isis, Herrin von Philae, wohnend in Takompso», woraus man ableitete, daß Takompso sich in der römischen, und wollte man nicht zwei verschiedene Takompso annehmen, auch in der ptolemäischen Zeit bei Hierasykaminos befunden haben müsse⁹⁷.

Diese Annahme schien durch den Fund der Inschrift SB V 1918 bestätigt, in der der bereits verschiedentlich erwähnte Heroides, Sohn des Demophon als Träger eines (der Lücke zum Opfer fallenen) Amtes in der Dodekaschoinos bezeichnete⁹⁸. Da die Inschrift in der Nähe des römischen Tempels von Hierasykaminos gefunden wurde, setzte sich endgültig die Ansicht durch, daß dort in der Nähe die Südgrenze der Dodekaschoinos verlaufen sei.

Der Streit um die Lage Takompso und die Ausdehnung der Dodekaschoinos ist jedoch nicht endgültig geschlichtet: dem alten Standpunkt Sethes schloß sich unlängst vor allem auf Grund seiner Auslegung der antiken literarischen Quellen Ch.W. Fornara in seinem Kommentar zu Aristagoras an: Takompso könne nur nahe Philae auf dem östlichen Ufer gesucht werden⁹⁹.

Auf Grund der hieroglyphischen Inschriften im Tempel von Dakkeh, in denen ausdrücklich von dem Feld zwischen Syene und Takompso die

⁹⁶ Adelheid SCHLOTT-SCHWAB, *Ausmaße* (Anm. 68), S. 119-120, 130-131.

⁹⁷ K. SETHE, *Schoinos und Dodekaschoinos*, ZÄS 41 (1904), S. 58-62.

⁹⁸ Zu SB V 1918 s. W. SCHUBART, *Dodekaschoinos*, ZÄS 47 (1910), S. 154-157.

⁹⁹ Ch.W. FORNARA, *Commentary on Nos. 608a-608* (F. JACOBY, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Dritter Teil: *Geschichte von Städten und Völkern*, C, Fasc. 1), Leiden-New York-Köln 1994, S. 26-29, vor allem S. 89-93, mit einer Übersicht über die Takompso-Problematik.

Rede ist, entsteht jedoch der Eindruck, Dakkeh müsse innerhalb dieses Feldes, also nördlich von Takompso liegen.

Genauer ist über Takompso auch heute noch nicht bekannt. Noch nicht einmal die Herkunft des Namens ist geklärt; die Frage, ob er eine nubische oder eine ägyptische Wurzel hat, blieb bisher anscheinend unbeantwortet. K. Sethe hatte an einer Stelle in seiner ersten Schrift verhalten die Frage gestellt, ob nicht Takompso die Bezeichnung für den jeweiligen südlichen Grenzort, für die jeweilige südliche Grenze¹⁰⁰, und je nach Zeit und Grenzverlauf der Name für verschiedene Örtlichkeiten gewesen sein könnte. Takompso müßte also an verschiedenen Stellen gesucht werden, und zwar jeweils da, wo die Grenze des Reichsgebietes im Süden lag. Damit könnte erklärt werden, warum es mal als Insel, mal als Stadt oder Ort, mal als auf dem östlichen Ufer, mal als auf beiden Ufern liegend bezeichnet werden konnte.

Wie es mit der geographischen und verwaltungsmäßigen Ausdehnung der Dodekaschoinos bestellt war, wissen wir also nicht. Wir besitzen jedoch in den unternubischen Tempeln architektonische Zeugnisse, die uns zeigen, bis zu welchem Punkt zumindest zeitweise ptolemäischer Einfluß nach Unternubien hinein gereicht hat. Die Baugeschichte dieser Anlagen verdient eingehendere Aufmerksamkeit, da sie hinsichtlich der politischen und militärischen Verhältnisse in diesem Gebiet äußerst lehrreich ist und vor allem ein bemerkenswertes Licht auf das Verhältnis zwischen Tempelbau und Politik in diesem Raum wirft.

2. *Architektonische Quellen für die Dodekaschoinos. Die unternubischen Tempelbauten*

Zwischen Philae und dem Wadi Allaqi standen 3 ptolemäische Tempelanlagen auf einer Strecke von ca. 140 km. Ca. 15 km südlich von Philae stand der Tempel von Parembola (das moderne Debod)¹⁰¹. Ca. 40 km südlich von Philae lag das antike Talmis (das moderne Kalabsha) mit einer Tempelanlage, die in spätptolemäischer Zeit begonnen und unter Augustus fertiggestellt wurde¹⁰². Ca. 140 km südlich von Philae öffnete sich auf dem östlichen Nilufer das Wadi Allaqi mit seinen berühmten Goldberg-

¹⁰⁰ K. SETHE, *Dodekaschoinos* (Anm. 10), S. 6.

¹⁰¹ 1960 als erster im Rahmen einer Rettungsaktion abgebaut, heute in Madrid, s. T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH (Hrsg.), *Temples and Tombs of Ancient Nubia. The International Rescue Campaign at Abu Simbel, Philae and other Sites*, New York 1987, S. 127-131.

¹⁰² Heute steht der Tempel in Neu-Kalabsha an der Nordspitze des Nassersees; zur Rettung des Tempels s. T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Temples* (Anm. 101), S. 127-131.

werken. Der Zugang war in pharaonischer Zeit durch die Festung Kubban gesichert, die jedoch in ptolemäischer Zeit, wie alle pharaonischen Festungsanlagen in dieser Region, verfallen war¹⁰³. Auf dem westlichen Ufer lag gegenüber der Talöffnung Pselchis (das moderne Dakkeh). Dort befand sich ein ptolemäischer Tempel des Thoth von Pnubs¹⁰⁴.

Diese Tempel wollen wir nun in chronologischer Reihenfolge besuchen. Beginnen wir mit dem Tempel von Dakkeh, der sowohl das südlichste wie auch das älteste architektonische Zeugnis für ptolemäische Präsenz birgt.

Der Tempel lag allem Anschein nach im Süden eines von starken Umfassungsmauern umgebenen Bezirks. Diese scheinen aus ptolemäischer Zeit zu stammen¹⁰⁵ und sind der einzige Hinweis auf Strukturen, die zur Unterbringung von Streitkräften und zur Verteidigung gegen Angreifer gedient haben könnten.

Erhalten sind ein breiter Pylon, ca. 13 m südlich davon eine viel schmalere Vorhalle, ein Querbau, eine dahinterliegende quadratische Kapelle und ein Sanktuarium. Laut E. Winter entstand hier zuerst eine Anlage unter Ptolemaios IV.¹⁰⁶, die später zerstört wurde, und von der nurmehr ein nach außen und nach innen geböschtes (also nicht in einen Innenraum führendes, sondern wahrscheinlich in einer Umfassungsmauer aus Ziegeln stehendes¹⁰⁷) Tor zwischen der heutigen Vor- und Querhalle erhalten ist. Die Kartuschen auf dem Tor enthalten den Namen Ptolemaios' IV. Philopator.

Diese Tatsache führt uns die expansionistische Nubienpolitik dieses Herrschers vor Augen, der bis zur Öffnung des Wadi Allaqi vordringen konnte und dort einen Tempel bauen ließ¹⁰⁸. Wir sagen ausdrücklich, daß Ptolemaios IV. den Tempel bauen ließ: da die ptolemäische Anlage auf den Fundamenten einer völlig zerstörten Struktur aus der pharaonischen Zeit stand¹⁰⁹, kann von einer ansässigen Priesterschaft, auf deren

¹⁰³ A.W. LAWRENCE, *Fortifications* (Anm. 5), S. 88-91.

¹⁰⁴ Heute ca. 40 km nördlich in Neu-Sebua wiederaufgebaut; zur Rettung s. T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Temples* (Anm. 101), S. 136.

¹⁰⁵ G. ROEDER, *Dakke* (Anm. 67), S. 12.

¹⁰⁶ Zu Winters jüngerer Bauabfolge s. E. WINTER, *Ergamenes II. Seine Datierung und seine Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), S. 510-513.

¹⁰⁷ Deutlich zu sehen bei G. ROEDER, *Dakke II* (Anm. 67), Abb. 8.

¹⁰⁸ s. dazu auch W. HUB, *Untersuchungen zur Außenpolitik Ptolemaios' IV.* (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusrforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, 69), München 1976, S. 178-184.

¹⁰⁹ L. A. CHRISTOPHE, *Sanctuaires nubiens disparus*, *CE* 38 (1963), S. 17-29.

Initiative der Bau zurückgegangen wäre, keine Rede sein. Genausowenig ist anzunehmen, daß die Priester von Philae dafür verantwortlich gemacht werden könnten, daß 140 km südlich «im feindlichen Ausland» ein Tempel entstand. Mit G. Roeder glaubt E. Winter allerdings, daß man die Vorlagen für den Bau in Dakkeh aus Philae bezogen hat¹¹⁰. Der Bau als solcher wurde jedoch, so meinen wir, vom Herrscher und den ihn umgebenden maßgebenden Politikern veranlaßt. Die Botschaft dieses Tempelbaus lautet: das Land um diesen Tempel untersteht unserer Herrschaft.

Wir haben bereits darauf hingewiesen, daß ca. 300 v.Chr. das nubische Reich seine Hauptstadt von Napata zwischen dem 3. und 4. Katarakt nach Meroë zwischen dem 5. und 6. Katarakt verlegt hatte. Die Gründe für diesen Rückzug nach Süden sind dunkel. Der Vorstoß der ptolemäischen Könige unter Ptolemaios II., dann unter Ptolemaios IV. (mit Tempelbau) galt wahrscheinlich zunächst der Sicherung der Bergwerke im Wadi Allaqi, wies jedoch potentiell, wie sich unter Ptolemaios VI. (s. Triakontaschoinos) bewahrheitete, weiter nach Süden, wo zwischen dem 2. und 3. Katarakt noch ausgedehntere Goldlager lockten.

Die Nubier werden das Auftreten der Ptolemäer als Bedrohung empfunden haben. Sie rückten ihrerseits unter Arqamani, der auch in Dakkeh belegt ist, nach Norden vor.

Hinter der Vor- und Querhalle aus späterer Zeit steht eine Kapelle. Diese wurde unter Arqamani errichtet; sein Name ist in den Kartuschen enthalten. Folgen wir E. Winter mit seiner Hypothese zur Bauabfolge, die besagt, daß Ptolemaios IV. als erster hier bauen ließ, so haben die Nubier unter Arqamani die Ptolemäer aus Dakkeh verdrängt.

Auf den Spuren des nubischen Herrschers führt unser Weg nach Norden in das antike Talmis (Kalabsha). Bei den Bergungsarbeiten am römischen Mandulistempel fand man unter dem Hofpflaster Blöcke, auf denen der Name Arqamanis gelesen wurde¹¹¹, wodurch seine Bautätigkeit auch hier erwiesen ist. Wir wissen, daß er auch auf Philae belegt ist, und daß die Nubier sogar Assuan einnehmen konnten.

Adikhalamani, ein oder der Nachfolger Arqamanis, ist auf Philae (Stelenfragment) und in Debod (dem antiken Parembolē) ca. 15 km süd-

¹¹⁰ G. ROEDER, *Die Kapellen zweier nubischer Fürsten in Debod und Dakke*, ZÄS 63 (1928), S. 139; E. WINTER, *Ergamenes II* (Anm. 106), S. 510-513.

¹¹¹ H. DEWACHTER – H. DE MEULENAERE, *La chapelle ptolémaïque de Kalabcha (Centre de Documentation et d'Etudes sur l'Ancienne Egypte)*, Kairo 1964-1970, II, S. 2, Block Nr. 264.

lich von Philae mit einer ähnlichen Kapelle wie die des Arqamani in Dakkeh belegt¹¹².

Die nubische Präsenz führt uns also von Dakkeh über Kalabsha, Debod und Philae bis Assuan. Die Tempel sind wie Meilensteine auf der Marschroute nach Norden, die jedes eroberte oder wiedergewonnene Gebietsstück markierten und es in den Herrschaftsanspruch des jeweiligen Königs hineinnahmen.

In Übereinstimmung mit unserer Annahme, die Tempel seien Monumente königlichen Herrschaftsanspruchs, dürfen wir nun erwarten, daß die ptolemäischen Könige, den vertriebenen Nubiern auf den Fersen, an die nubische Bautätigkeit anknüpften, um ihrerseits zum Ausdruck zu bringen, daß die Region wieder Teil ihres Reichs war. So ist es auch.

Als Ptolemaios V. den Süden Ägyptens zurückerobert hatte und auf Philae Fuß gefaßt hatte, wurde dort in den letzten Jahren seiner Herrschaft am Arensnuphistempel gearbeitet: die Kartuschen Arqamanis wurden, wenn auch nicht vollständig, ausgemeißelt, die Dekrete von Memphis und Alexandria wurden angebracht, ein Phourarch wurde eingesetzt.

Unter Ptolemaios VI. entstand in Debod um die Kapelle des besiegten Adikhalamani eine Anlage mit mehreren Pylonen: den 2. Pylon schmückt eine Bauinschrift Ptolemaios' VI. und Kleopatras II., in der diese den Pronaos der Isis und ihren Mitgöttern überantworten¹¹³. Ein weiteres Zeugnis aus ihrer Zeit stammt aus Aguala zwischen Kalabsha und Dendur, wo eine hieroglyphische Stele Ptolemaios' VI. gefunden wurde, in der Mandulis als der Herr von Talmis bezeichnet wird; dem dürfen wir entnehmen, daß zu Zeiten Ptolemaios' VI. ein Mandulisheiligtum in Kalabsha existiert hat¹¹⁴. Wir wissen aus *Th. Sy.* 302, daß Ptolemaios VI. über die alten Grenzen der Dodekaschoinos hinaus seinen Anspruch auf ein Gebiet, das er Triakontaschoinos nannte, durch die Gründung von Städten zum Ausdruck brachte. Diese Städte, von denen heute jede Spur fehlt, können nicht mehr als Militärlager gewesen sein. Der ptolemäische Vorstoß in diesen Raum wird möglicherweise durch einige Münzfunde aus Mirgissa beim 2. Katarakt belegt, wo sich eine Münzprägestelle befunden haben muß, da neben geprägten Münzen auch

¹¹² G. ROEDER, *Debod* (Anm. 80), S. 22; ID., *Die Kapellen zweier nubischer Fürsten* (Anm. 110), S. 126-141.

¹¹³ *SB* V 8461 = *OGIS* 107.

¹¹⁴ A.M. BLACKMAN, *Dendur* (Anm. 82), S. 61, 66, Abb. CIII; L.A. CHRISTOPHE, *Sanctuaires nubiens* (Anm. 109), S. 33; *PM* VII, S. 47.

ein Los von Rohlingen zu Tage gefördert wurde. Einige der geprägten Münzen wurden von G. Le Rider in die Zeit um Ptolemaios VI. datiert¹¹⁵.

Wie die Eroberung Unternubiens vor sich ging, wie das Gebiet abgesichert wurde, wo Truppen und Offiziere untergebracht wurden, darüber haben wir keine sicheren Auskünfte, sondern können nur versuchen, uns in die Situation hineinzudenken.

Wir erinnern an die Feststellung, daß von ptolemäischen Festungsbauten keine Spur zu finden ist. Es gibt nur einen einzigen Hinweis auf Sicherungsanlagen, nämlich die festungsartigen Umfassungsmauern der Tempel. Diese müssen zur Verteidigung gedient haben. Dort könnte auch im Bereich zwischen den Tempelmauern und der Umwallung zumindest zeitweise ein Teil der Streitkräfte untergebracht gewesen sein. Nicht zufällig lautet der antike Name Debods, wo der Tempel Adikhalamanis und Ptolemaios' VI. stand, «Parembolè», d.h. Militärlager. Von den Offizieren hatten zumindest diejenigen, die gleichzeitig Priester waren, sogar einen Anspruch auf Wohnung im Tempel. Weitere Truppenteile werden in flechtwerkartigen Verbarrikadierungen Stellung bezogen haben: darauf deutet der Titel Gerrophylax hin, der in *Th. Sy.* 302, 320 und in *SB V* 1918 verwandt wird¹¹⁶.

Unter Ptolemaios VIII. wurde der Tempel in Dakkeh mit einer Querhalle, einer Vorhalle und einem Pylon ausgestattet und letzterer durch eine griechische Bauinschrift geschmückt, die hier im tiefen Süden seltsam berührt¹¹⁷. Von Kleopatra III. fehlt in den Tempelreliefs und Beischriften jede Spur; Ptolemaios tritt nur mit Kleopatra II. auf. Dementsprechend darf man annehmen, daß der Bau vor der Eheschließung mit Kleopatra III., jedenfalls aber vor dem Ausbrechen der Amixia 131 v. Chr. errichtet worden ist¹¹⁸.

¹¹⁵ s. G. LE RIDER, *Monnaies trouvées à Mirgissa*, *RN* 11 (1969), S. 28-35.

¹¹⁶ W. SCHUBART, *Dodekaschoinos* (Anm. 98), S. 156, äußert die Vermutung, daß der Titel von γερρον = Flechtwerk abgeleitet ist.

¹¹⁷ *SB V* 7907 = *OGIS* 131.

¹¹⁸ Zu den Buchstaben λϵ in der letzten Zeile, die bisher als Regierungsjahr 35 gelesen wurden und ein Auftreten Ptolemaios' VIII. allein mit seiner ersten Gemahlin nach der Eheschließung mit Kleopatra III. belegen würden, s. H. HEINEN, *Les mariages de Ptolémée VIII Evergète et leur chronologie*, in *Akten des 13. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*, Marburg 1971 (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, 66), München 1974, S. 147-155, der an der Lesung λϵ beträchtliche Zweifel äußert und es außerdem für unwahrscheinlich hält, daß die Buchstaben ein Regierungsjahr angeben sollen.

Gegen Ende seiner Herrschaft gingen Teile des eroberten Gebietes wahrscheinlich wieder verloren. Von den Bemühungen um die Sicherung Unternubiens spricht auf Philae die Zunahme von Besuchen (oder Durchzügen?) hoher Militärpersonen mit Gefolge und Streitkräften, über die sich die Priester beklagen, und die durch die vermehrten Widmungsschriften aus der Regierungszeit Ptolemaios' VIII. belegt wird.

Jedenfalls gibt es aus dem Raum um und südlich von Dakkeh kein späteres Zeugnis ptolemäischer Expansion. Spuren einer Bautätigkeit unter Ptolemaios VIII. sind außer auf Philae nur noch in Debod festzustellen, wo von frühen Reisenden ein Granitnaos mit seinen Kartuschen gesehen wurde, der später verschleppt worden ist¹¹⁹.

Der Einflußbereich Ptolemaios' IX. reichte offensichtlich nur noch bis Kalabsha. Er ließ dort eine Tempelanlage bauen, von der lediglich eine Kapelle in der Umfassungsmauer erhalten ist¹²⁰. Der Rest des heute erhaltenen Baus stammt aus römischer Zeit. Den Namen Ptolemaios' IX. finden wir auch auf mehreren Hundert Blöcken, die im Fundament der römischen Anlage verbaut waren¹²¹.

Noch an einer anderen Stelle im Tempel entdecken wir eine ptolemäische Spur: überraschenderweise ist dies ein ptolemäisches Relief an der Frontseite des Sanktuars aus römischer Zeit, das einen Ptolemaios (IX?) zeigt¹²². Sollte das Sanktuarium in ptolemäischer Zeit begonnen und in römischer Zeit fertiggestellt worden sein? Wenn das Relief Ptolemaios IX. darstellte, so würde dies bedeuten, daß spätestens am Ende seiner Herrschaftszeit auch Kalabsha der ptolemäischen Einflußsphäre entzogen wurde.

Ptolemaios XII. schließlich ist außer auf Philae nur im Tempel von Debod mit einem Granitnaos belegt, der mit dem Ptolemaios' VIII., der ursprünglich auch in Debod stand, fast identisch ist¹²³. Südlichere Zeugnisse aus seiner Zeit oder später gibt es nicht¹²⁴. Das Feld von 12 *itr*

¹¹⁹ s. G. ROEDER, *Debod* (Anm. 80), S. 6, 118.

¹²⁰ Die Ansicht, es handle sich in den Kartuschen um den Namenszug Ptolemaios' V. ist in der Zwischenzeit von H. DE MEULENAERE, *Ptolémée IX Soter II à Kalabcha*, *CE* 36 (1961), S. 98-109, überzeugend widerlegt worden.

¹²¹ J. LECLANT, *Fouilles et travaux en Egypte et au Soudan*, *Orientalia* 33 (1964), S. 352-353.

¹²² *PM* VII, S. 14: Ptolemy, s. a. H. DE MEULENAERE, *Ptolémée IX Soter II* (Anm. 120), S. 98-99: Reliefszene mit Namensring Ptolemaios ohne Beinamen.

¹²³ G. ROEDER, *Debod* (Anm. 80), S. 118.

¹²⁴ H. STOCK – K.G. SIEGLER, *Kalabsha* (Anm. 10), S. 97, 99, sprechen von Bauresten aus der Zeit zwischen Ptolemaios IX. und Kleopatra VII. und behaupten, noch in der spätesten Zeit sei unter Ptolemaios XIII. und Kleopatra VII. am Tempel von Kalabsha gebaut

war verlorengegangen. Dieser bitteren Realität entspricht auch die formelhaft vage Ausdrucksweise in den Schenkungstexten unter den letzten Herrschern. Während noch unter Ptolemaios VIII. der Text der Dodekaschoinosstele fast wörtlich wiederholt worden war, begnügte sich Ptolemaios XII. mit einem allgemeinen Unterhaltsversprechen. Von dem Zehnten auf die Einfuhren aus Nubien als Einnahme für den Tempel ist nicht mehr die Rede.

Erst unter römischer Herrschaft setzt mit Augustus und Tiberius der Tempelbau in Unternubien wieder ein, und enthalten auch die Land-schenkungsinschriften ähnlich konkrete Formulierungen wie in der früheren ptolemäischen Zeit.

VIII. SCHLUSSFOLGERUNGEN

Der erste Katarakt war eine strategische Schwachstelle im ägyptischen Reichsgebiet und mußte dementsprechend abgesichert werden. In ptolemäischer Zeit scheint in dieser Hinsicht Philae die Rolle der alten Reichsfestung Elephantine übernommen zu haben. Südlich des ersten Katarakts lagen ausgedehnte Goldlager, aus denen der Reichtum der pharaonischen Herrscher stammte. Es lag stets in deren Interesse, dieses Gebiet, das ihnen jedoch durch nubische Stämme streitig gemacht wurde, zu besitzen.

Wir stellen auf Philae eine starke griechische Präsenz fest, deren Charakter sich über die Zeit hinweg verändert hat. Während im 3. und vor allem im 2. Jahrhundert v.Chr. die Inschriften offizieller Besucher, die sich offensichtlich in politisch-militärischer Mission auf Philae aufhielten, überwiegen, scheint im 1. Jahrhundert v.Chr. vor allem die Pilgerfahrt im Zentrum zu stehen.

Die starke offizielle Präsenz in dem frühen Zeitraum weist auf das besondere Interesse der ptolemäischen Herrscher an diesem Gebiet hin. Dies kommt auch durch die Baupolitik zum Ausdruck, die Philae gegenüber dem in pharaonischer Zeit so wichtigen Elephantine eindeutig begünstigte.

Ende des 3., Anfang des 2. Jahrhundert v.Chr. fiel Philae in die Hände der nubischen Könige Arqamani und Adikhalamani, die von Süden her Ägypten angriffen, Assuan einnahmen und wahrscheinlich noch weitere Ziele im Auge hatten.

worden. Diese Theorie findet sich bei H. De Meulenaere und M. Dewachter nicht bestätigt und scheint heute aufgegeben zu sein.

Nach der ptolemäischen Rückeroberung des Südens taucht auf Philae eine Festung mit einem Festungskommandanten auf. Dieser Phourarch hatte offensichtlich auch gewisse Befugnisse im Tempelbereich und war möglicherweise selbst Priester. Ein solcher Kumulus ist uns im Kataktgebiet zumindest bei einer Person bekannt, die jedoch wahrscheinlich keinen Einzelfall darstellt. Tempelverwaltung und weltliche Macht waren offensichtlich stark verwoben.

Dementsprechend vermuten wir, daß der Unterstellung der Dodekaschoinos unter die Isis von Philae, wie sie uns aus den hieroglyphischen Landschenkungsinschriften bekannt ist, nicht nur religiöse, sondern vor allem auch politisch-strategische Bedeutung zukam. Es ist anzunehmen, daß von dem Isistemplel als Gegenleistung für diese Landschenkung, deren Tradition, wenn auch in Verbindung mit einer anderen Gottheit, weit in die pharaonische Vergangenheit zurückzureichen scheint, erwartet wurde, daß er für die Sicherung und Verwaltung dieses Gebietes einstand, wofür ihm zumindest in der Zeit Ptolemaios' VI. und VIII. konkrete Einnahmen zugesprochen wurden.

Da es von ptolemäischen Festungsbauten weder auf Philae noch in Unternubien Spuren gibt, stellt sich die Frage, wie das Gebiet verteidigt wurde. Die einzigen Unterbringungsmöglichkeiten für Offizieren und Truppenteile boten die festungsartigen Umfassungsmauern der Tempel.

Wir finden unsere Auffassung, daß die Tempel eine strategische Funktion erfüllten, durch die Beobachtung bestätigt, daß sowohl die ptolemäischen Herrscher wie die nubischen Könige offensichtlich das Bedürfnis hatten, ihre Ansprüche auf eroberte oder wiedereroberte Gebietsstücke durch einen Tempelbau zur Schau zu stellen und ihre Oberhoheit dadurch zu beweisen, daß sie das Gebiet an die Isis von Philae verschenkten.

Wir vermuten, daß die Bautätigkeit der Herrscher an den verschiedenen Tempeln die Grenze ihrer Einflußsphäre markiert: so reichte der ptolemäische Einfluß unter Ptolemaios IV. bis Dakkeh, in den letzten Jahren Ptolemaios' V. bis Philae, in den späteren Jahren Ptolemaios' VI. erst bis Debod, dann kurzfristig bis in die Triakontaschoinos, unter Ptolemaios VIII. bis Dakkeh, unter Ptolemaios IX. bis Kalabsha, unter Ptolemaios XII. nurmehr bis Debod.

Die geographischen und administrativen Abmessungen der Dodekaschoinos sind bis heute nicht genau bekannt. In den hieroglyphischen Landschenkungsurkunden wird das Gebiet als Feld zwischen Syene und Takompso bezeichnet. Wo Takompso gelegen haben soll, ist umstritten. Man vermutete es erst in der Nähe von Philae, womit der Ausdruck

Dodekaschoinos das Kataraktgebiet bezeichnen hätte; später suchte man es in der Nähe von Dakkeh, womit die Dodekaschoinos eine Länge von ca. 150 km gehabt hätte. Heute scheint man wieder auf den alten Lagevorschlag für Takompso, d.h. gegenüber von Philae, zurückzukommen. Möglich erscheint uns, daß Takompso der Ausdruck für die jeweilige südliche Grenze war und zu verschiedenen Zeiten verschiedene Ortschaften bezeichnet haben könnte.

Obwohl das Gebiet südlich des 1. Katarakts offensichtlich im 1. Jahrhundert v.Chr. für ptolemäischen Einfluß verlorengegangen war, hatte Philae seine Bedeutung nicht eingebüßt. Diese hatte sich allerdings gewandelt. Die politische Aufmerksamkeit des siechen ptolemäischen Staates war ganz auf Rom gerichtet. Der Süden lag weit ab vom Schuß. In dieser Zeit scheint Philae vor allem eine Gebets- und Pilgerstätte geworden zu sein, die nicht nur Besucher aus ganz Ägypten anzog, sondern auch weit nach Nubien hineinwirkte. Diese Funktion behielt es bis ins 6. nachchristliche Jahrhundert hinein, als der Tempel endgültig geschlossen wurde.

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven
Afdeling Oude Geschiedenis

Gertrud DIETZE

DAS HAUS DES NEKTANEBIS UND DAS HAUS DES PTOLEMAIOS

Im J. 1904 edierte Sethe¹ eine Inschrift, die an einem Türrahmen des achmimischen Felstempels des Min angebracht ist. Sethe stützte sich bei seiner Edition auf Abschriften und Abklatsche, die Lepsius² angefertigt hatte. Wie Sethe die Inschrift verstand, geht aus der Überschrift hervor, die er dem Text der Inschrift voranstellte: «Weihinschrift einer unbekannten Königin der ersten Ptolemäerzeit, Namens Ptolemais, bezeichnet als Nachkommin des Königs Nektanebos...; wahrscheinlich aus der Zeit des Ptolemäus Philadelphus»³. M.a.W.: Nach Sethes Meinung war die Dedikantin namens Ptolemais eine «Nachkommin» des Nektanebos⁴ — eine «Nachkommin», die er offensichtlich aufgrund ihres Namens als eine Dame betrachtete, die mütterlicherseits (auch) von einem Mitglied der ptolemäischen Dynastie abstammte. Wie auch immer die verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen sich gestaltet haben mochten — die XXX. Dynastie war seiner Ansicht nach verwandtschaftlich mit der ptolemäischen Dynastie verbunden⁵. Und diese Feststellung — ist sie

¹ Vgl. K. SETHE, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit I (Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums II)*, Leipzig 1904, S. 27 Nr. 12.

² Vgl. C.R. LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Text II, hg. v. E. Naville, Leipzig 1904 (= Osnabrück 1970), S. 164f.

³ K. SETHE, a.a.O. (Anm. 1).

⁴ Unter «Nektanebos» versteht Sethe Nektanebis, den ersten Pharao der XXX. Dynastie, nicht Nektanebos, den dritten und letzten Pharao dieser Dynastie. Der Deutlichkeit halber sei gesagt, daß nach unserer Diktion Nektanebis (*Nht-nb.f*) (380-ca. 362) — nicht Nektanebos (*Nht-Hrw-hbjt*) (360-342) — der Begründer dieser Dynastie gewesen ist. Zu dieser Frage vgl. etwa F.K. KIENITZ, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende*, Berlin 1953, S. 199.

⁵ Der Meinung Sethes haben sich H. GAUTHIER, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte* IV, Le Caire 1916, S. 191 Anm. 4, und F.K. KIENITZ, *Politische Geschichte*, S. 207, angeschlossen.

Eine andere Meinung vertrat nach Sethe A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Lagides* III, Paris 1906 (= Aalen 1978), S. 26 Anm. 2, 88 Anm. 1, dem W. HUB, *Die Herkunft der Kleopatra Philopator*, *Aegyptus* 70 (1990), S. 191-203, hier 203 Anm. 49, folgte. Bouché-Leclercq las nicht «Ptolemais», sondern «Ptolemaios» und legte dem 'Vornamen' *Hpr-k3-R'w* keine personelle Bedeutung bei. Den nur ansatzweise zu entziffernden dritten Namen ergänzte er zu «Arsinoe (II.)». Auf diese Weise ergab sich die Wiedergabe einer einfachen Vater-Tochter-Beziehung:

Hpr-k3-R'w Ptolemaios (I.)

|

Arsinoe (II.)

zutreffend — ist natürlich von beträchtlicher Bedeutung bei der Beurteilung der frühptolemaiischen Politik gegenüber der einheimischen Führungsschicht.

Doch — trifft sie zu? Kuhlmann⁶ bestreitet dies. Er ist der Überzeugung, daß es sich bei Ptolemais nicht um eine Dame handelt, die zum ptolemaiischen Haus in verwandtschaftlicher Beziehung stand, sondern um eine Griechin, die der genannte Pharao geheiratet hatte — «perhaps ... a daughter or sister of Chabrias»⁷. Diese Ansicht ist frappierend. Wie ist sie entstanden? Dadurch, daß Kuhlmann den 'Vornamen' des Nektanebis (*Hpr-k3-R^cw*) gleichsam *ad verbum* genommen und im Träger dieses Namens daher Nektanebis, den Begründer der XXX. Dynastie, wiedergefunden hat, und dadurch, daß er in 'Ptolemais' nicht die Tochter, sondern die Frau dieses Pharaos gesehen hat.

Doch nehmen wir die in diesem Zusammenhang entscheidende Passage des Textes, der von Kuhlmann gegenüber dem Text Sethes in einigen Punkten verbessert worden ist, in der dargebotenen Übersetzung zur Kenntnis!

«The hereditary princess, beheld in high esteem, the gracious-one, favoured with sweet love, the mistress of Lower- and Upper-Egypt, of gracious countenance, beautiful with the double-feather, the great royal consort, Lady of the Two Lands, king's daughter of *Hpr-k3-R^c.w* and Ptolemais, the king's wife [...]*n*[...], beloved of Min, Lord of *Tz.t*, may she live eternally»⁸.

Das zentrale Stück dieser Passage lautet im Urtext:

s3t njsw⁹ nj Hpr-k3-R^cw Pdlmjjs ḥmt njšwt [---]*n*[---].

Kuhlmann ist darin recht zu geben, daß aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach der Ausdruck *ḥmt njšwt* («Frau des Königs») nicht *nomen regens* eines *nomen rectum* [---]*n*[---] ist¹⁰, daß also Ptolemais nicht als Frau

Diese Ansicht hat K.P. KUHLMANN, *Ptolemais — Queen of Nectanebo I. Notes on the Inscription of an Unknown Princess of the XXXth Dynasty*, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), S. 267-279, hier 270-276, widerlegt.

⁶ Vgl. K.P. KUHLMANN, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), S. 267-279.

⁷ K.P. KUHLMANN, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), S. 277.

⁸ K.P. KUHLMANN, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), S. 269.

⁹ Zu *njšwt* / *njsw* vgl. G. FECHT, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache* (Ägyptol. Forschungen, 21), Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York 1960, S. 17 §30, 20 §34, 22f. §38.

¹⁰ Vgl. K.P. KUHLMANN, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), S. 273: «... the title of *ḥjmt njsw.t* 'king's wife: queen', as a rule, does not usually enter into a direct genitive relationship with a king's name»; S. 273 Anm. 16: «The only downright comparable exception, to my knowledge, being provided by *ḥmt Pj* [meine Umschrift] 'king's wife of Pianchi'».

des Königs [---]n[---] bezeichnet ist. Dieser Ansicht war Sethe gewesen¹¹:

$$\begin{array}{c} Hpr-k3-R^c w \propto N. N. \\ | \\ | \\ | \\ Ptolemais \propto [---]n[---] \end{array}$$

Vielmehr scheint der Name [---]n[---] der Name der Prinzessin zu sein, auf den der ganze Abschnitt zusteuert. Auch darin ist Kuhlmann zuzustimmen:

$$\begin{array}{c} Hpr-k3-R^c w \propto Ptolemais \\ | \\ [---]n[---] \end{array}$$

Worauf aber ist *hmt njšwt* zu beziehen? Auf Ptolemais oder auf [---]n[---]? Kuhlmann¹² bezieht auf [---]n[---]. Ich vermag die Notwendigkeit dieser appositionellen Beziehung des Namens [---]n[---] zu *hmt njšwt* nicht zu sehen, zumal [---]n[---] bereits im vorhergehenden Text als *hmt njšwt wrt* («große Gemahlin des Königs») bezeichnet ist. Ich beziehe daher den fraglichen Ausdruck eher auf Ptolemais, die durch ihn ausdrücklich als legitime Frau des Königs *Hpr-k3-R^cw* gekennzeichnet ist. Doch mag dies eine Frage von sekundärer Bedeutung sein.

In jedem Fall stellt sich aber die Frage: War [---]n[---] verheiratet, mit einem König verheiratet, wie die Wendungen *hnwt t3 Mḥw šm^cw* («Herrscherin von Unter- und Oberägypten» [*sic!*]), *ḥnt m šwtj* («Schöne mit den beiden Federn»), *hmt njšwt wrt* («große Gemahlin des

¹¹ W.W. TARN, *Queen Ptolemais and Apama*, *CQ* 23 (1929), S. 138-141, hier 138, ist Sethe weitgehend gefolgt. Er ist allerdings über Sethe mit folgender Annahme hinausgegangen (S. 138): «Her existence ... implies that one of the first two Ptolemies had married a descendant of Nakhtenebef»:

$$\begin{array}{c} Hpr-k3-R^c w \propto N.N. \\ | \\ | \\ | \\ N.N. \propto Ptolemaios (I.) \\ | \\ Ptolemais \end{array}$$

Im übrigen fügt Tarn (S. 138 f.) noch hinzu: «I suppose it is just possible that Ptolemais was herself the wife of Ptolemy I and had taken a new name on her marriage, but it seems too unlikely for many reasons to be worth considering». Vgl. auch *PP* VI 14564.

¹² Vgl. K.P. KUHLMANN, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), S. 273, 276.

Königs») und *nb(t) t3wj* («Herrin der beiden Länder») anzuzeigen scheinen? Kaum; denn Kuhlmann¹³ hält Wendungen wie «Herrscherin von Unter- und Oberägypten» und «Herrin der beiden Länder» zu Recht für Wendungen, die nur ornamentalen Charakter besitzen. Schwieriger ist es wohl, den Titel «große Gemahlin des Königs» seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung zu entkleiden. Doch mag hier auf die griechische Parallele verwiesen werden, die besagt, daß βασιλίσσα nicht nur «Königin», sondern auch «Prinzessin» bedeutet¹⁴. Im übrigen paßt die 'Tonlage' der Inschrift, deren Text mit *jrjt p^ct* («Erbprinzessin») beginnt, eher zu einer Prinzessin als zu einer regierenden Königin — ganz abgesehen davon, daß der Gemahl dieser «Königin» in der Inschrift an keiner Stelle auftaucht¹⁵.

So weit vermag ich Kuhlmann weithin zu folgen. Problematisch finde ich jedoch die von Kuhlmann vorgeschlagene historische Einordnung der Gestalt der Ptolemais. Kuhlmann¹⁶ sieht in ihr eine Griechin, die zur Zeit des Nektanebis lebte — vielleicht eine Tochter oder Schwester des Atheners Chabrias, der während der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jh. in herausragender Weise die Geschicke Ägyptens mitgestaltet hat. Gegen diesen Vorschlag spricht die historische Wahrscheinlichkeit. Wie das Beispiel Amasis/Ladike¹⁷ zeigt, ist zwar die Annahme, ein regierender ägyptischer König habe eine Griechin zur Frau genommen, an sich nicht unmöglich — aber auch nicht gerade naheliegend, wenn man berücksichtigt, daß Ladike nicht *die* Gemahlin des Amasis gewesen zu sein scheint, sondern nur zu seinem Harim gehört zu haben scheint¹⁸. Ptolemais dagegen war *die* Gemahlin des *Hpr-k3-R^cw*. Vor allem aber spricht gegen die erwähnte Hypothese die Tatsache, daß es in vorhellenistischer Zeit im griechischen Bereich — jedenfalls in Athen¹⁹ — den Namen Ptolemais nicht gegeben zu haben scheint²⁰. Daß der Name von einer

¹³ Vgl. K.P. KUHLMANN, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), S. 275.

¹⁴ Vgl. etwa *OGIS* I 35 (Philotera, Tochter Ptolemaios' I.); *OGIS* I 56, Z. 46-76 (Berenike, Tochter Ptolemaios' III.); *IG IX* 1,1², 56 (Berenike und Arsinoe, Töchter Ptolemaios' III.).

¹⁵ Vgl. auch K.P. KUHLMANN, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), S. 278f.

¹⁶ Vgl. K.P. KUHLMANN, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), S. 276-278.

¹⁷ Vgl. Herodot. II 181.

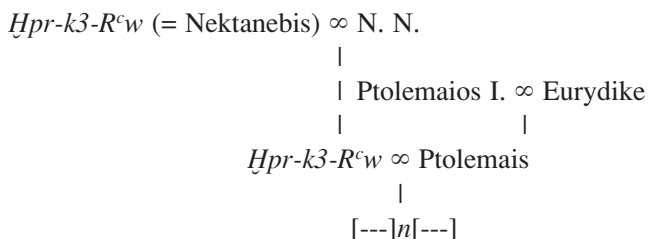
¹⁸ Vgl. etwa H. DE MEULENAERE, *Herodotos over de 26ste dynastie (II, 147-III, 15)* (*Bibliothèque du Muséon*, 27), Leuven 1951, S. 87f., 113f.; ders., in *LÄ* III (1980), Sp. 903f., s.v. *Kyrene*.

¹⁹ Vgl. I. KIRCHNER, *Prosopographia Attica* II, Berolini 1903 (= 1966), S. 235, 480.

²⁰ Anders K.P. KUHLMANN, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), S. 276 Anm. 29, der jedoch nur auf den männlichen Personennamen Πτολεμαῖος — vgl. Hom., *Il.* IV 228 — verweisen

Makedonin getragen wurde, ist möglich; doch ist die Annahme einer Eheschließung zwischen Nektanebis und einer Makedonin noch unwahrscheinlicher als die Hypothese einer Eheschließung des Nektanebis mit einer Athenerin. Die Tatsache, daß der Name Ptolemais nie auf den anderen relativ zahlreichen Monumenten des Nektanebis erscheint, erklärt Kuhlmann²¹ mit der Enttäuschung des Nektanebis über die Rückkehr des Chabrias nach Athen und der dadurch hervorgerufenen Entfremdung von Ptolemais. Vermag diese Erklärung zu überzeugen? Ich zweifle sehr.

Wenn aber eine Ptolemais kaum in voralexandrischer Zeit, sondern in nachalexandrischer Zeit einem Mann der führenden Schicht Ägyptens zur Frau gegeben worden ist, dann legt sich der Gedanke nahe, daß es sich bei der Ptolemais von Achmim um Ptolemais, die Tochter Ptolemaios' I. und der Eurydike, handelt. Diese Annahme hat allerdings zur Folge, daß der Pharao Nektanebis von der Inschrift von Achmim fernzuhalten ist. Wer aber soll dann der Mann sein, dessen Name *Hpr-k3-R^cw* in einem Königsring steht? Auf diese Frage können wir nur mit einer Hypothese antworten: ein Nachkomme des Nektanebis, der wie sein Vorfahre den 'Vornamen' *Hpr-k3-R^cw* getragen hat:



Doch — erscheint nicht der Name dieses Nachkommen des Nektanebis in einem Königsring?! Und dies zu einer Zeit, als — aller chronologischen Wahrscheinlichkeit nach²² — Ptolemaios I. selbst bereits den Königstitel angenommen hatte?! Gewiß! Ich sehe aber in dieser Tatsa-

kann. Vgl. auch O. HOFFMANN, in *RE* XIV 1 (1928), Sp. 681-697, hier 688, s.v. *Makedonia* VI.

²¹ Vgl. K.P. KUHLMANN, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), S. 277f.

²² Ptolemaios scheint Eurydike, die Mutter der Ptolemais, in der Zeit nach dem Friedensschluß von Triparadeisos (320) geheiratet zu haben. Vgl. J. SEIBERT, *Historische Beiträge zu den dynastischen Verbindungen in hellenistischer Zeit* (*Historia-Einzelschriften*, 10), Wiesbaden 1967, S. 17. Da Ptolemais das jüngste der (uns bekannten) vier Kinder des Ptolemaios und der Eurydike gewesen zu sein scheint, ist sie kaum vor dem Jahr 316 geboren worden. Die Eheschließung mit *Hpr-k3-R^cw* erfolgte also schwerlich vor dem Jahr 302, eher etwas später.

che kein entscheidendes Gegenargument gegen die hier vertretene Hypothese. Verschiedene Erklärungen sind denkbar. Erstens kann *Hpr-k3-R^cw*, der Sproß eines königlichen Geschlechts, der Schwiegersohn des regierenden Königs und der Vater der Enkelin dieses Königs, über ein (sich in der Verwendung einer Kartusche äußerndes) beträchtliches Selbstbewußtsein verfügt haben, dessen Äußerungen Ptolemaios I. toleriert hat. Zweitens kann vielleicht gerade die Demonstration dieses Selbstbewußtseins zum Bruch mit Ptolemaios I. geführt haben²³; denn Ptolemais war i.J. 287 nicht mehr die Frau des *Hpr-k3-R^cw*, sie wurde vielmehr in diesem Jahr mit Demetrios Poliorketes verheiratet, nachdem sie mit ihm bereits i.J. 298 verlobt worden war²⁴. Drittens kann die Prinzessin [---]n [---] die Position ihres Vaters nach dessen Tod übersteigert charakterisiert haben²⁵ — und wenn nicht sie selbst, dann Leute aus ihrer Umgebung²⁶.

²³ Sollte die Behauptung zutreffen, daß der Sarkophag des Königs Nektanebos, eines Verwandten des *Hpr-k3-R^cw*, «sous les Ptolémées» zerstört worden ist? Vgl. H. DE MEULENAERE, in *LÁ IV* (1982), Sp. 451-453, hier 452, s.v. *Nektanebos II*. Sollte dies in der Tat der Fall gewesen sein und sollte diese Behauptung in der Weise zu verstehen sein, daß die Regierung die Zerstörung des Sarkophags angeordnet oder gebilligt hatte, würde dieser Tatbestand im Gegensatz zum Tatbestand der ('staatlich' anerkannten oder tolerierten) kultischen Verehrung 'des Falken' in ptolemaischer Zeit stehen. Ist dies wahrscheinlich?

²⁴ Vgl. etwa J. SEIBERT, *Historische Beiträge*, S. 30-32, 74f., 100; H. HEINEN, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Geschichte des 3. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. Zur Geschichte der Zeit des Ptolemaios Keraunos und zum Chremonideischen Krieg* (Historia-Einzelschriften, 20), Wiesbaden 1972, S. 3f., 14f.

²⁵ Selbstverständlich hat auch der älteste Sohn des Nektanebos in alexandrischer oder ptolemaischer Zeit den Namen seines — wohl verstorbenen — Vaters in einen Königsring gesetzt. Vgl. J.J. CLERE, *Une statuette du fils aîné du roi Nectanabô*, *REgypt* 6 (1951), S. 135-156 u. T. I, hier 144 bzw. T. I A, Z. 3. Doch liegt dieser Fall natürlich insofern etwas anders, als sich Nektanebos und Alexandros bzw. Ptolemaios in keiner Konkurrenzsituation befunden haben. Vgl. außerdem Eve A.E. REYMOND, *From the Record of a Priestly Family from Memphis I* (*Ägyptol. Abhandlungen*, 38), Wiesbaden 1981, S. 74 Z. 5 (Anemhor, Sohn des Esisut [PP III / IX 5352], als «Prophet des Nektanebos»). — Daß der Name der Ptolemais — und auch der ihrer Tochter — in einer Kartusche stehen, entspricht den Gepflogenheiten. Vgl. etwa H. GAUTHIER, *Livre IV*, S. 221f.; dazu W. HUSS, *Der makedonische König und die ägyptischen Priester* (Historia-Einzelschriften, 85), Stuttgart 1994, S. 98f. Anm. 115 (Philoterä, die Halbschwester der Ptolemais); K. SETHE, *Urkunden II* 2, S. 142-153 (Berenike, Tochter Ptolemaios' III.).

²⁶ Im übrigen ist darauf hinzuweisen, daß der Gebrauch des Titels *njswt* und die Verwendung einer Kartusche nicht so exklusiv zu sehen sind, wie es zunächst den Anschein haben könnte. Vgl. etwa W. HUSS, *König und Priester*, S. 45 Anm. 72 (manche Hohenpriester von Thebai), 155 Anm. 540 (der Hohepriester des Harsaphes); außerdem G. POSENER, *La première domination perse en Égypte* (*Bibliothèque d'Étude*, 11), Le Caire 1936, *passim*; E. OTTO, *Der Gebrauch des Königstitels bjḏj*, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), S. 143-152, bes. 152; H. DE MEULENAERE, *La famille royale des Nectanébo*, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), S. 90-93, hier 91; R. STADELMANN, *Das Grab im Tempelhof. Der Typus des Königsgrabes in der Spätzeit*, *MDAIK* 27 (1971), S. 111-123 u. T. XVI, hier 119f. Anm. 45.

Der Zeitpunkt der Eheschließung des *Hpr-k3-R^w* mit Ptolemais läßt sich nicht mit Sicherheit feststellen. Die Ehe scheint jedoch eher vor der Verlobung der Ptolemais mit Demetrios Poliorketes (298) als in der Zeit zwischen Verlobung und Heirat (298-287) geschlossen worden zu sein. Ein Zeitpunkt nach dem Tod des Poliorketes (283) kommt kaum in Frage; denn Ptolemais ist — soweit wir wissen — nach dem Tod ihres Mannes nicht in das von der innenpolitischen Gegenpartei beherrschte Ägypten zurückgekehrt, sondern zusammen mit ihrem Sohn Demetrios d. Schönen im antigonidischen Machtbereich verblieben.

Die Einzelheiten der vorgeschlagenen Interpretation mögen nicht alle in gleicher Weise überzeugen. Daß jedoch eine Dame namens Ptolemais nicht von einem Griechen oder Makedonen dem Pharao Nektanebis, sondern von Ptolemaios I. einem ägyptischen Großen zur Ehe gegeben worden ist — dies halte ich für so gut wie gesichert. War dies aber der Fall, dann zeigt dies erneut, wie sehr sich Ptolemaios I. um das Vertrauen und um die Unterstützung der großen Familien Ägyptens bemüht hat. Er scheint auf diesem Terrain erhebliche Erfolge errungen zu haben — Erfolge, die zu einem beträchtlichen Teil die Schaffung friedlicher innenpolitischer Verhältnisse ermöglicht haben.

Universität Bamberg
Lehrstuhl für Alte Geschichte

Werner HUSS

THE BEHAVIOUR OF CONSUMERS IN THE ZENON PAPYRI*

In the society illustrated by the Zenon archive, the satisfaction of primary needs was for many people, as far as food and clothing were concerned, not so much a matter of purchasing power as of using what was provided by institutions which ruled out all spending power or curtailed its range, namely the maintenance of slaves and the partial remuneration in kind¹ of all wage earners except hired hands (ἐργάται). If the ὀψώνιον (salary in cash) offered, despite its meagreness, a chance of satisfying the need of shelter, domestic utensils (σκεύη) and bath, the curtailing effect of σιτομετρία took away any possibility of saving money for the purchase of choice clothing or choice σκεύη or of securing the goods or services that were required to meet distinctly secondary needs such as schooling and recreation. On reading the Zenon papyri one also learns that wage earners sometimes had to wait quite long before they received their remuneration in kind; as the *opsonion* too was on occasion overdue, it looks as if even in satisfying their primary needs many people of the society under review encountered great difficulties. One should not forget however, that in matters of remuneration, either in cash or in kind, payments effected *without* a hitch have left few traces in the letters and petitions of the Zenon archive: on getting his due at the end of the month, an employee of the domain (δορεά) administered by Zenon would have no reason to take up his pen. The meagre salary paid out to most people employed on that domain and the curtailing effect of the *sitometria* on their purchasing power are the reality; the abundance of irregularities in paying wage earners or in measuring out their monthly rations is merely the result of the imbalance of information which is intrinsic to the evidence at our disposal. We shall have to bear this in mind when dealing, in the pages that follow, with the attempts made by all kinds of people on the one hand to reduce expenses and have wages increased or paid in advance, and on the other hand to have their remuneration in kind increased or at least provided on time.

Although they resemble remuneration in kind in so far as they replace purchasing or hiring, we will not deal in this paper with subsistence

* The siglum TR indicates a proposed new reading by the present author.

¹ Bread (in case of daily distributions), grain (in case of monthly σιτομετρία) and oil; sometimes also clothing.

farming or home production of a family's clothing, nor will we enlarge on ξένια or on the practice of borrowing domestic utensils and other durables. The goods supplying primary needs could indeed be bred, grown or woven by consumers themselves and services meeting secondary needs could be performed by members of their own οἰκία; choice food was often sent as a present to the king, to the dioecetes, to other high officials, or to Zenon himself; choice clothing and even perfumes were presented to people (both freeborn and slave) performing important duties in Apollonios' residence; ordinary domestic utensils were often borrowed, even in the social class represented by Zenon.

The documents which will be quoted in the following pages belong to the correspondence, not the bookkeeping, of the *dorea* in Philadelphia and of other units dependent on Apollonios in his capacity as private citizen, not as dioecetes. They were written by people from two social strata: the middle class to which Zenon belonged, and the class² situated immediately above the faceless masses which are totally absent from the correspondence of the Zenon archive and only represented by the anonymous hired hands (ἐργάται) that turn up in the *dorea*'s accounts. The situation proper to the upper class of Zenon's society will not be dealt with; all documents concerning presents (ξένια) received by Apollonios have been omitted³ for brevity's sake from the present paper, together with Apollonios' orders of cattle, fruit and crops, bred or grown, for the needs of his own household, on his domain in Philadelphia.

*

* *

1. The need (ἐνδεῖα) of the primary necessities of life

1.1. In *P. Lond.* VII 2045.2-3 a certain Paeis writes to Zenon from jail: «It is now five months since I was arrested, and I am now bereft of everything so that I lack the necessities of life» (ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεὴς εἶναι). Τὰ ἀναγκαῖα probably refers both to his basic necessities and to the money he had to pay his gaoler in order to obtain those articles. His situation must have resembled that of free people dependent on an income, whether in cash or in kind (food, clothing),

² Consisting of employees of the *dorea* (such as Pyron, ὁ πρὸς τοῖς γράμμασιν), artisans, retail traders, subordinate officials living in Philadelphia.

³ The same applies to documents on cattle, fruit and crops bred or grown on Apollonios' domains and presented by him to the king.

which, for some reason or other, was insufficient, or whose payment was either in arrears or cancelled. Some of these people expressed themselves in the same terms as Paeis: the author of *P. Col. Zen.* II 66, an Arab camel-driver, tells Zenon in his report on Krotos, who, after being told to give him his pay, gave him nothing of what had been ordered⁴ (ll. 6-7): «I held out for a long time waiting for you; but when I was in want of necessities (ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεὴς ἦμην) and could get nothing anywhere, I was compelled to run away into Syria» (ll. 8-11); Pais, captain of a boat belonging to Zenon, informs the latter in *P. Mich. Zen.* 60.13: «we are getting nothing and are without the necessities of life» (οὐκ ἔχομεν τὰναγκαῖα); Pyron, ὁ πρὸς τοῖς γράμμασιν, asks his employer in *PSI IV* 418 to do what was required in connection with his rations, «in order that we may not be indigent» (ὅπως μὴ ἐνδεεῖς ᾖμεν⁵) (ll. 11-13); in *P. Lond. Zen.* VII 1976.14-17 a widow inn-keeper writes to Zenon after the abduction of her daughter by a go-ahead vine-dresser: «she helped manage the store, and supported me, since I am an old woman. Now therefore I make a loss since she went away, and I have not the necessities of life» (τὰ δέοντα οὐκ ἔχω); in *PSI IV* 407.6-10 the painter Theophilos tells Zenon: «you will do well, if some of the pictures remain to be made for you, to assign them to me, in order that I may be at work and have the necessities of life» (ἵνα ἔχω τὰ δέοντα).

The same is said, but in different terms, by a certain Mnesistratos, bracketing together illness and indigence⁶ in *P. Col. Zen.* I 10.2-3: «I have fallen into a serious state of sickness and helplessness» (εἰς μεγάλην δὲ ἀρρωστίαν ἐνέπεσον⁷ καὶ εἰς ἀπορίαν); by the author of *P. Cairo Zen.* IV 59599, «an indigent but rather educated correspondent» (C.C. Edgar), who tells Zenon that for unspecified reasons he was in «an uncommon state of helplessness» (οὐκ ἐν τῇ τυχούσῃ εἰμὶ ἀπορία); and also, emphasizing his dire straits and discomfort, by the camel-driver of *P. Col. Zen.* II 66 (or rather by the public letter writer to whose services he must have appealed) concerning his dealings with

⁴ Among them an *opsonion*, cf. ll. 4-5: σοῦ δὲ προστάξαντός μοι ὁψώνιον διδόναι ἃ σὺ συνέταξας οὐκ ἐδίδου μοι οὐθέν.

⁵ Probably also to be restored in *P. Cairo Zen.* V 59838 (request to Zenon from gardeners), ll. 8-9: νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων [ἐνδεεῖς ἐσμεν], instead of [χρεῖαν ἔχομεν].

⁶ The same is done in *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59489.14-17, quoted in n. 22 below.

⁷ It is clear that this would constitute a contradiction in terms if it were preceded (cf. GZA p. 124) by [ὕγλαινον δὲ καὶ γῶ]; there can be little doubt that εἰ ἂν ἔχοι· ἐργῶ should be restored.

Jason, whose behaviour had been as bad as that of the above-mentioned Kroto: «and I am in difficulty (ἐν τῷ πόνῳ γίνομαι) summer and winter» (l. 17); by a certain Pemenasis⁸ who writes to Zenon in *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59493.4-6: «after four months here, in foreign parts, we are in dire straits and reduced to begging» (στενῶς διατε[θείμ]εθα καὶ προσαι[οῦμ]εν); in similar terms by the author of *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59498, a pigeon-keeper to whom four months of *opsonion* were due: στενῶς γὰρ διάκειμαι (ll. 5-6); and finally by the weaver Choirine who in *PSI* VI 605⁹ justifies her demand for payment of her wage¹⁰ by asserting: θλίβομαι γάρ, «I am indeed in great distress» (l. 3).

Some correspondents used a terminology specifying the meaning of ἐνδεῆς εἶναι and its variants, and spoke either of lack of money to spend or of want of consumer goods. The former was the case when Ktesias asked Zenon to send him some money εἰς ἀνήλωμα, as he was borrowing for the time being from Charmides¹¹ (*P. Cairo Zen.* II 59181.2-3); also in *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59047 where Amyntas, the steward of Apollonios' residence in Alexandria, informs Zenon that he has sent to the dioecetes a certain Dexilaos with a letter περὶ ἀνηλώματος and asks him to send the messenger back without delay «since he wants us to spend (on his mission) part of what we do not have at all»¹². Petitioners much more frequently defined indigence as being a lack of consumer goods; they did so by using verbs, nouns, or adjectives indicating the need of a certain category of goods (e.g. food, clothing, shelter, domestic utensils) or services (e.g. medical care). Thus Satyra, κιθαρῳιδός in Apollonios' Alexandrian residence, in demanding ἱματισμός for herself and for her mother, by insisting «that care be taken of us, ὅπως μὴ γυμνοὶ¹³ ᾤμεν» (*P. Cairo Zen.* I 59028.5); thus an unknown petitioner in *PSI* IV 426.5-6, by describing himself as

⁸ «A herdsman of some sort» (C.C. EDGAR), arriving from elsewhere and not yet having a pasture for his livestock (l. 12).

⁹ After being completed by Gabriella MESSERI SAVORELLI and R. PINTAUDI (in *I papiri dell' archivio di Zenon a Firenze*, p. 73-74 and plate LXXIV) with a fragment first mentioned in a note to *PSI* IV 371, the papyrus in question will be re-edited by the same scholars in *Ricongiunzioni di PSI dell' archivio di Zenon, Analecta Papyrologica* 5 (forthcoming).

¹⁰ In l. 2-3 might be restored: φρόντισον δι' ἐσὺ περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ τοῦ] ἐξαμήνου γ[ινομένου μοι]. Before the *ricongiunzione* referred to in the previous note, I proposed a different restoration of *PSI* VI 605.2-3 in *CE* 68 (1993), p. 205 n. 25.

¹¹ A παῖς of the *dorea*. Ktesias' situation resembles that of the unknown author of *PSI* IV 426.23-27, quoted below.

¹² Οὐ (TR, instead of οὐ) γὰρ ἔχομεν οὐδέν, [ἀξιοῖ (TR) ἡμ]ᾶς καὶ ἀνηλίσκειν.

¹³ Cf. also *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59474.19 (ἴνα μὴ κα[τα]φθαρῶ γυμνός), III 59477.4-5 (ἴνα μὴ γυμνοὶ ὄντες ἀσχημονώμεν), *PSI* IV 418.17-18 (γυμνοὺς ἰστάντας ἡμᾶς), VI

μηδὲ σταθμὸν ἔχοντα; thus also a certain Theon in *P. Cairo Zen.* V 59852.8-10, in asking Zenon that he might be informed «with whom I will be housed and receive the other necessities of life in order that I may cease to roam about in my old age» (ἵνα μὴ πρεσβύτερος ὢν¹⁴ ῥέμβωμαι). In *P. Mich. Zen.* 90.2-3 a certain Petosiris brackets together want of clothing and lack of shelter: καὶ γυμνός εἰμι καὶ ὑπαιθροί¹⁵ γεινόμεθα. The food category is represented in this specifying terminology not by πεινῆν, which is never applied in the Zenon archive to human beings¹⁶, but by λιμός (hunger), used invariably in connection with hyperbolic terms such as ἀπόλλυσθαι, παραπόλλυσθαι, διαφθείρεσθαι, καταφθείρεσθαι, etc.¹⁷, which also serve to describe with some pathos the result of cold¹⁸, γυμνότης¹⁹, lack of medical care²⁰, and even idleness²¹.

605.4-5 (γυμνή γ[ὰρ οὐσα χαυ]νοτέρα γενέ[σθαι μέλλει]). In all these cases the term γυμνός, though not to be understood literally (*LSJ* s.v. 7 translates ‘destitute’), is used in a context dealing with clothes. In *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59474.19 γυμνός εἶναι is followed by a simile: γυμνός ὥσπερ οἱ δραπετάι; in *PSI* IV 418.14-18 the connection between the simile ὥσπερ τοὺς κυβευτάς and γυμνοὺς ἱστάντας ἡμᾶς is not clear: καὶ, εἴ σοι φαίνεται, {μη} ἀποσύνταξον ὥσπερ τοὺς κυβευτάς ἐπιτηροῦντας ὡς ἂν εἰσερχώμεθα ἀποπαιδαριοῦν γυμνοὺς ἱστάντας ἡμᾶς.

¹⁴ Old age appears to have been experienced by Theon and by other petitioners as an evil comparable with cold, poverty, illness and burden of debts.

¹⁵ Petosiris demands 4 dr. in order to buy some ῥάκος (l. 6). Ὑπαιθρος εἶναι is said with respect to animals in *P. Cairo Zen.* IV 59546.5 [καὶ μὴ τὸν πλείω χρόνον] ὑπαιθρα ὄντα καταφθεῖρηται (cf. also 59545.4-5).

¹⁶ It is said of swine in *P. Lond.* VII 2007.15-16 to a certain Pemenes: αἱ ὕες σοι ὄδε πεινῶσιν; in ll. 17-20 he is informed that «more swine are being lost by dying of hunger (ἀπολλύμενα τῷ λιμῷ) than died from the fever which attacked the swine» (ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ἀπόλλυται τῆς ἐμπιπτούσης εἰς τὰ ἱερεῖα), which is an early reference to the well-known swine-plague.

¹⁷ Cf. *P. Col. Zen.* II 66.11-12 and 20-21 (ἵνα μὴ τῷ λιμῷ παραπόλωμαι); *P. Cairo Zen.* II 59160.5 (λιμῷ παραπολοῦμαι, asserted by Nikon, agent of Apollonios in the Memphite nome!); II 59291.6-7 (μὴ περιειδεῖν παραπολλυμένους τῇ λειμῷ). Less pathetic is *P. Cairo Zen.* IV 59578.4: [ἵνα] μὴ ἀσχημονῇ τῇ λιμῷ.

¹⁸ Associated with hunger by the author of *PSI* IV 399, an *enteuxis* addressed to the king, demanding, ἵνα μὴ τῷ ῥίγει καὶ τῇ λιμῷ ἀ[πόλωμαι] (ll. 10-11), the award of 10 minae of wool and a number of artabas ἐκ τῶν Πετοβάστιος.

¹⁹ Cf. *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59474.18-19: ἵνα μὴ κα[ταφθαρῶ] γυμνός ὥσπερ οἱ δραπετάι. – ἵνα μὴ γυμνός ὢν ἀσχημονῶ, as in *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59477, was far less hyperbolic, cf. p. 126 below.

²⁰ In *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59435 (= IV p. 289), ll. 6-9 a certain Zoilos informs Zenon that Philiskos’ παῖδάρια and γυναῖα are ill and asks him to send them some money ἵνα [μη – –] δι’ ἀμελίαν παραπόληται. The term θεραπεία, the contrary of ἀμελεία in matters of disease, only occurs in the sense of treatment in *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59019, dealing with curing dice made of gazelles’ bones, cf. p. 137.

²¹ Cf. *P. Lond.* VII 2017.25-28, where Herakleotes, a young boy whose musical education was financed by Zenon and Nestos, asks his guardians ἀποδοῦναι μοι τὴν κατὰ μῆνα γινομένην [τιμ]ὴν εἰς ἑξὶ δύο ὅπως ἂν etc. εἰσέλθ[ω εἰς τοὺς] ἀγῶνας οὓς ὁ

Details on the kind of allowances or consumer goods wanted are, of course, far from unusual. These are provided e.g. by a certain Thraikidas who asks Zenon in *PSI* IV 408.4-12 to give what he owed him, namely his σιτομητρία (*sic*) of four months and τοῦ ὀψωνίου μήρος (*sic*) τι, «for I have nothing to spend»²²; also by Pyron, the chief of Zenon's clerks in *PSI* VI 572.13-14, where, in order to justify his demand for a piece of land (γῆδιον), he asserts: «of the 2 artabas which I receive, I never have anything left» (οὐθέν μοι περιλείπεται); or in *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59124.5-6, where Panakestor, shortly before being succeeded by Zenon as manager of the Philadelphian *dorea*, asks the latter to provide that *dorea* with a supply of wine, «for it is becoming scarce» (σπάνι[ς γὰρ γίνεται]). There are cases in which more precise information on either lack of money to spend or want of food is followed by a general assertion of being without means, cf. *PSI* IV 426, whose unknown author writes: «since your departure I have received neither my *opsonion* nor anything else»²³ (οὔτε ἄλλο οὐθέν) and I have lived by borrowing» (δανειζόμενος ἔζων) (ll. 23-27); also *PSI* IV 414.6-9 where Menon, wage-earning vine-dresser, writes: «you see that, unlike the others, I have at my disposal neither vegetables»²⁴ nor anything else (οὔτε ἄλλο οὐθέν) and therefore am entirely dependent on my *opsonion*».

1.2. The social consequence of the lack of primary necessities was ἀσχημοσύνη, 'indecorum', 'lack of respectability'. In *PSI* IV 418.8-13 the above-mentioned Pyron asks Zenon to bestow the necessary care περὶ σιταρίου καὶ ἐλαιδίου κἄν τί σοι ἄλλο φαίνεται, «in

βασιλεὺς προτίθησιν καὶ μὴ καταφθαρῶ ἐνταῦθα, δυνατὸς ὧ[ν (TR) ἐμαυ]τῶι βοηθῆσαι. To be compared with *P. Cairo Zen.* IV 59650.4 where Harnouthis, steersman of a boat «in which Zenon had a financial interest» (EDGAR), complains ἐγὼ καταφθείρομαι, no doubt owing to the ἀργία of his ship (cf. 2: [σ]υμβαίνει τῶι πλοίῳ ἀργεῖν). In both cases the verb in question means 'to sit doing nothing' and is equivalent with καθῆσθαι (cf. *LSJ* s.v. 3) which should be read at the end of Harnouthis' memorandum (ὅπως ἂν μὴ καθῶμαι instead of ἀίρωμαι).

²² Οὐ γὰρ ἔχω εἰς ἀνήλωμα (ll. 11-12). Ἀνήλωμα in this case covers (as does ἀνανγκαῖα on some occasions, cf. p. 120) both the use of consumer goods and the money spent to acquire them. The same terminology occurs in *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59489 in which Paris reminds Zenon that he has written to him already earlier, among other things περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ ὅτι ἀσθενῶς διάκειμαι καὶ οὐθέν ἔχω εἰς ἀνήλωμα (ll. 14-17). As a rule, ἀνήλωματα were either operating expenses or expenses for consumer goods.

²³ According to ll. 8-10 he was entitled to 4 artabas of corn (σίτος).

²⁴ By laying out, when subrenting a vineyard, a kitchen-garden; cf. on that practice *P. Cairo Zen.* II 59269.22, III 59300.8, 59329.15-17.

order that we may stop behaving unseemly (ἵνα παυσώμεθα ἀσχημονοῦντες); the author²⁵ of *P. Cairo Zen.* IV 59578 asks Zenon to send a certain Mikkalion home and to provide him with travelling-money (εἰ καὶ τι δεῖ ἀν[ηλῶσαι εἰς αὐτόν]) «in order that he may not behave unseemly from hunger» (ἵνα μὴ ἀσχημονῇ τῇ λιμῶϊ) (ll. 2-4). In letters and petitions concerning their employment or their means of support, the authors often end up talking of εὐσχημονεῖν. The most remarkable of these requests is *PSI V* 541, a short letter addressed to none other than the king (βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ Πτολεμαίῳ) by a certain Aigyptos: «as I owe to you my salvation, I implore you now, if it seem good to you, to have me appointed (πρόσταξον κατατάξαι με) wherever it is your pleasure, in order that I may lead my life in proper style (εὐσχημονῶν) and without reproach on your part (ἀνέγκλητός σοι ὢν) while you reign over the entire world». The most assiduous pursuer of εὐσχημοσύνη, ‘respectability’, is Pyron, ὁ πρὸς τοῖς γράμμασιν. In *P. Mich. Zen.* 46.6-11 he asks for an advance of money to enable him to buy 150 artabas of poppy seed which he will hand over to Zenon to sell for him at a profit along with his own, «in order that, if you sail down to the Pentaeteris, I may accompany you in proper style» (εὐσχημόνως συγκαταπλέωμέν σοι)²⁶; in *PSI VI* 571.11-14 he justifies in a similar way his demand for a grant that would enable him to sow the piece of land²⁷ which, so he hopes, will be allotted to him: γήιδιον etc. εἰς ὃ χορηγήσεις ἡμῖν τὸν πρῶτον σπόρον ὅπως δυνώμεθα διευσχημονεῖν²⁸; in *P. Cairo Zen.* IV 59647.46-48 he begins a demand for an increase of wages of his ὑπογραφεῖς and of himself (ll. 49-61) as follows: ἐὰμ βούλη ἡμῖν σαυτὸν ἐπιδοῦναι εἰς τὸ διευσχημονεῖν ἡμᾶς. The reason why several people²⁹ regard the satisfaction of their

²⁵ Possibly a woman.

²⁶ Same request in *PSI VI* 571.20-22: καὶ εἰς τὸν κατάπλουν δέ, ὅπως μὴ τελέως αἰσχροῶς καταπλέωμεν (...) εὐχαριστήσας ἡμῖν καὶ προδοὺς εἰς συναγορασμὸν μήκωνος (ἀρτ.) ρν ἧς σὺ διαθήσει ἡμῖν μετὰ τῆς (σ)αυτοῦ.

²⁷ Its yield would no doubt be spent on consumer goods; the same applies to the profit made by selling the above-mentioned 150 artabas of poppy seed.

²⁸ Same request in *P. Mich. Zen.* 46.18-24: καλῶς δὲ ποιήσεις καὶ περὶ γηιδίου φροντίσας ὃ σπεύροντες διευσχημονήσομεν σέ τε οὐκ ἐνοχλήσομεν τὸν πλείω χρόνον τοῦτον τὸν σπόρον χορηγήσαντα.

²⁹ Cf. also *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59477 (letter from Nikolaos to Zenon), ll. 4-5: ἵνα μὴ γυμνοὶ ὄντες ἀσχημονῶμεν, and *P. Cairo Zen.* IV 59599.2-9 where a letter writer whose name is lost complains: οὐκ ἐν τῇ τυχούσῃ εἰμὶ ἀπορίαι, καὶ εἰ μὴ etc. περι-αποστέλλων ἦτιουν, πάλαι ἂν ἡσχημόνουν.

primary needs as a matter of decorum is no doubt that throughout antiquity indigence was considered an αἰσχρόν and therefore an object of derision³⁰.

According to Nikolaos, the author of *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59477, for whom ἱματίσωμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτούς was the opposite of γυμνοὶ ὄντες ἀσχημονῶμεν (ll. 5-6), decorum and respectability depended on clothing; that opinion was probably shared by Pyron whose μὴ τελέως αἰσχροῶς καταπλεῖν (*PSI VI* 571.20-21) and εὖσχημόνως συγκαταπλεῖν (*P. Mich. Zen.* 46.9-10) must have referred to the clothing he would be wearing in Alexandria³¹, not to what he would eat on his journey to the capital³². Indeed clothing, more than any other consumer good, gave rise either to contempt³³ or to respect. That it was an important status symbol is proved e.g. by the remark made by Phileas, ἐγλογιστής, in *P. Col. Zen.* I 41.3 when recommending to Zenon a certain Metrodoros: «it will be clear to you what sort of man he is from his dress» (φανερὸς δέ σοι ἔσται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσθητὸς ὅς ἐστιν); also by the announcement made in *P. Mich. Zen.* 58.22-24 to Zenon and his brother Epharmostos by a certain Pyrrhos, a γεωργός whose womenfolk contributed to the family budget by means of their

³⁰ Cf. Crantor, quoted by Stobaeus, *Flor.* 95.13: οὐκ ἔστι πενίας οὐδὲν ἀθλιώτερον ἐν τῷ βίῳ σύμπτωμα· καὶ γὰρ ἂν φύσει σπουδαῖος ᾖ, πένης δὲ κατάγελως ἔσει; Juvenal, *Sat.* III 152-153: *nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se quam quod ridiculos homines facit*. The reason for Pyron's request to Zenon in *PSI VI* 571.20-21 (cf. n. 26) is: ὅπως μὴ τελέως αἰσχροῶς καταπλέωμεν. In *PSI VI* 623 (only partly preserved) it looks as if the author (who, in ll. 15-21, asks for money in order to enable him to return to the Thebaid), ashamed of his indigence, dares not look Zenon (?) in the face: [ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος οὐκ ἔκπε[πότη]κεν πρὸς σ[ἐ] προσελθεῖν, ἵνα μὴ συμβῇ μοι πρὸς σὲ παραγεγονότι ἀσχημονεῖν (ll. 1-7).

³¹ Nikolaos' preoccupation in *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59477.4-7, where he asks for a πρόχρησις of 14 dr. «in order that we may not lack decorum because of our needy appearance» (γυμνοὶ ὄντες), was in its turn awakened by a journey to the capital, for he promised to pay back the money borrowed, ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρας ἀναπλεύσω ἐν ἡμέραις ἐξήκοντα. Care for decorum must also have been the reason why travellers (among whom, once again, Pyron) asked that some of their clothes be forwarded to them, cf. *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59048 (Aristeus «asking Aratos to remind Zenon and Kriton to purchase some rugs and garments and a Tanitic bed-spread and bring them down to Alexandria» — EDGAR) and *P. Mich. Zen.* 97 («request written in Alexandria by one of Zenon's employees, probably Pyron, for money and wheat for his household in Philadelphia and for some clothes to be sent down the river for himself» — EDGAR).

³² In spite of Pyron's association of food (σιτάριον, ἐλαῖδιον) and παύσασθαι ἀσχημονοῦντες in *PSI IV* 418.10-13; a similar connection was made by the unknown author of *P. Cairo Zen.* IV 59578.4: [ἵνα] μὴ ἀσχημονῇ τῇ λιμῷ.

³³ Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* III 147-151: *quid quod materiam praebet causasque iocorum, si foeda et scissa lacerna, si toga sordidula est et rupta calceus alter pelle patet etc.*

weaving-loom: «the himation too is being woven, worthy of you both»³⁴. The above mentioned Nikolaos, author of *P. Cairo Zen. III 59477*, must have meant by ἱματίσαι ἡμᾶς αὐτούς «to dress decently»³⁵, and that must also have been the sense in which Herakleotes, Zenon's young protégé, uses that same verb in *P. Cairo Zen. III 59440.6-9*, where he asks for advance payment of two months' *opsonion*, allowances, and wine, ὅπως ἂν αὐτός τε ἱματισθῶ³⁶. Just like γυμνός in several cases (cf. n. 13) rather means 'needy, destitute' than 'unclad', ἱματίσαι, in some cases, is rather 'to dress up' than 'to dress'.

1.3. After expounding consumer attitude towards the primary necessities of life, and before dealing with their means of securing these, a few words must be said about a precaution which they normally took when defending their interests. Μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν, not to be a trouble or a nuisance to the addressee, was a matter of great concern to many of the letter-writers and petitioners that entered into contact with Zenon and others with regard to their need of consumer goods. Taking into account on the one hand the strenuous life led by Zenon and by his master³⁷, and on the other hand the number of people who were claiming rights or demanding favours, one understands on the part of the latter not only the concern they couched in their letters but also why they instructed their

³⁴ *Inter alia* because of its weight, cf. 26-28: προστέθεικα δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐμουτοῦ (sic) ἐρίων μν(ᾶν) α.

³⁵ That is the reason why C.C. EDGAR wrote in his introduction to *P. Cairo Zen. III 59477*: «in order that he may clothe himself *decently* for his journey down the river».

³⁶ Herakleotes received no specific clothing allowance, neither in kind nor in cash. After receiving in advance two months' salary, food allowance in cash, and wine, enabling him «to get dressed and to recover some articles which he had pawned», he would sell his ration of wine, and he probably intended to do the same if, in consequence of an alternative proposal made by himself, his *opsonion* and his allowances for food were paid to him in kind instead of in cash.

³⁷ Cf. on Apollonios *P. Cairo Zen. II 59203.8*: διὰ τ[ὸ] ἄσχολοι εἶναι οὐκ [ἡδυνά]μεθα δ[ι]ακοῦσαι ὑμῶν; *I 59043* (docketed Boubastos), ll. 4-5: Ἀπολλώνιος μ[ὲν] γὰρ πρὸς πλείοσιν (TR) ἐ[σ]τὶν ὥστε περὶ τούτων φροντίζειν; *III 59427.2-3*: ἐπεὶ δὴ (lege δὲ) ἐώρων ἀσχ[ολοῦ]μένον σε πρὸς (TR) – ἀσπ[ασά]μενός σε ἀπελήλυθα; on Zenon: *PSI V 514.3*: νύκτα ἡμέραν ποιούμενος (order from Apollonios to Zenon); *P. Cairo Zen. I 59124.6-7*: [κ]αλῶς δὲ ποιήσεις καὶ αὐτὸς παραγενόμενος ὥς ἂν εὐκαιρ[ή]ις; *I 59135.3*: καὶ φροντίζομεν δὲ ἀκούοντες ὅτι κατατείνεις σαυτόν; *IV 59608.1-3*: ἴσως μὲν οὐ[ν] ἐνοχλοῦμεν (with trading-problems) ἀσχο[λοῦ]με[ν]ό[ν] σε; *PSI IV 391.27*: διὰ τὸ (TR) πρὸς πολλοῖς αὐτὸν εἶναι, *PSI VI 589.18-19*: ὅπως μὴ σε ἐνοχλῶμεν πρὸς πολλοῖς ὄντα, and also Zenon's diaries (*PSI IV 429* and *430*, *P. Col. Zen. I 58* and *59*).

messengers to approach Apollonios and Zenon at an appropriate time, εὐκαίρως³⁸.

In *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59043.2-3, the only document concerning nuisance caused by third persons, Amyntas informs Zenon about the situation in Apollonios' household in Alexandria: «we have already earlier written to you that the slaves annoy us (ἐνοχλεῖ ἡμᾶς) with their claims for their *opsonion*, and now they ask that some money be given them if they are expected to behave well». As a rule, the authors of our documents talk about the trouble *they* cause in negative apodoses of conditional sentences or in negative final clauses. The former is the case in *PSI* IV 413.3-8, in which a certain Kudippos writes to Zenon: «if we could, on doctors' orders, obtain ἐκ τοῦ ἐμπορίου some of the undermentioned articles, we would not pester you» (οὐκ ἂν ἐνοχλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς), and in *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59477.15-17, where Nikolaos concludes his request for a consumer loan of 14 dr.as follows: «I would have you know that, if we had been able to procure that money from anyone of the people here, we would have done so, without troubling you» (τοῦτο ποιήσαντες οὐκ ἂν σὲ ἠνοχλοῦμεν). As for ἐνοχλεῖν in negative final clauses, Hermias' purpose in demanding to be brought together with Sosos was, according to *PSI* VI 589.15-19, «to receive from him my *opsonion* and not to trouble you, who are very busy» (μὴ σε ἐνοχλῶμεν πρὸς πολλοῖς ὄντα), and Pyron's demand for a piece of land the produce of which would enable him «to behave with decorum» was made, according to *PSI* VI 571.9, ἵνα μὴ ἐνοχλῶμέν σε περὶ σιταρίου. Pyron's negative final clause differs from its counterpart in *P. Mich. Zen.* 46.18-24, which is a formal promise not to bother Zenon any more: «please consider my request about a plot of land which I can sow and thus live decently without troubling you for the future (σέ τε οὐκ ἐνοχλήσομεν τὸν πλείω χρόνον), once you have provided this year's seed». There is also the rather unexpected apology offered by a certain Hermias, «a man of education and taste», who, after having asked more than once³⁹ the restitution of a mill-stone which he had lent to Zenon, wrote to him in *P. Lond.* VII 2059.10-15: «if it is not practicable for me to have it back,

³⁸ It was advisable not to approach Apollonios ἀκαίρως: *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59045.3-4: ὥς ἂν εὐκαιροῦντα λάβῃς Ἀπολλώνιον; 59046.6-8: ἵνα περὶ ὧν ἀποδεδήμηκεν πρὸς σέ ἐντύχηι σαυτῷ εὐκαίρως; *PSI* IV 347.4-5: ὅπως ἐν τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως γενεθλίοις καιρὸν λαβὼν ἐντύχηις αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν; *PSI* V 502.2-3: ὥς ἂν ποτε εὐκαίρως ὑπολαμβάνῃς Ἀπολλώνιον. As for Zenon, cf. *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59493.2: κωλύει ἡμᾶς ὁ θυρουρὸς ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς σέ.

³⁹ So he says, and it is confirmed by *PSI* V 530.

write and let me know; for I am ashamed to keep on pestering you about such a trifle» (περὶ οὐδενὸς πλεονάκις σε ἐνοχλῶν). In *PSI IV* 392.2-3 a certain Hermocrates, on trial before the king in Alexandria, relates as a merit of his that, in spite of unexpected expenses entailed by his defence, he has persisted till then in leaving his friends undisturbed: διεκαρτεροῦμεν μηθένα τῶν φίλων ἐνοχλεῖν. In our series of documents this is the only instance in which the negation of ἐνοχλεῖν refers to the past.

1.4. Let us now proceed to a discussion of the means (verbal or factual) employed in various attempts to secure primary necessities of life.

1.4.1. In attempts to have their rations distributed on time people threaten to diminish their obligingness, cf. *PSI IV* 408.4-10 in which a certain Thraikidas, on claiming payment of his *sitometria* (four months overdue), writes in a warning tone: ἵνα δύνωμαι σοι τὰς χρείας παρέχεσθαι⁴⁰. In *PSI IV* 335.2-5 Aristeus, assistant of Amyntas in Apollonios' household in Alexandria, writes to Zenon about the corn (no doubt a bribe paid in kind) that is due to Aleximachos, a πράκτωρ, and asks him to order Artemidoros to measure it out without delay, «for he does not render us the usual services» (οὐ γὰρ τὰς τυχοῦσας χρείας ἡμῖν παρέχεται). Aristeus' note is rather exceptional, for what he wrote concerning a *third person* in order to *justify* his own demand, was usually written by the authors of our documents concerning *their own person* either as a *promise*⁴¹, or as a *warning*.

1.4.2. *Opsonia* and allowances for dress were in most cases too scanty to be of any help in satiating more than primary needs. In attempts to have them paid on time, people threatened again to neglect their duties (ἀτακτεῖν). They did so more or less openly. Instead of χρείας παρέχεσθαι, «to do one's work», several of Zenon's subordinates used to talk of ἀνεγκλήτους ἡμᾶς παρέχεσθαι, «to behave irreproachably», or of εὐτακτεῖν, «to be orderly, to behave well». Those were the terms used by a certain Horos when, on claiming part of his overdue *opsonion*, he wrote, in a tone that was more warning than promising: «you will do well to give me also that (part) in order that I may behave better in my

⁴⁰ An identical warning may have been given in a different context by a certain Thot-mosis in *PSI V* 656.7-8: δέομαι οὖν σου, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, ἐπισκ[έψαι (*suppl.* W. Clarysse) περὶ τούτων ἵνα δυνώμε[θα (TR) τὰς χρείας π[α]ρέχεσθαι.

⁴¹ Cf. the final paragraph of this paper, p. 139-140.

work» (ἵνα μᾶλλον πρὸς τοῖς ἔργοις εὐτακτῇσω) (*P. Cairo Zen.* III 59317.12-14). Equally warning was the way in which Pyrrhos, a young protégé of Zenon, concluded his demand that in future his *opsonion* be paid on time⁴² and that he receive his clothing allowance: ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνεγκλήτους ἡμᾶς κατὰ πᾶμ μέρος παρεξόμεθα (*P. Cairo Zen.* III 59507.17-21). The same applies to what is reported by Amyntas in *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59043. 2-3 to have been said by the slaves of Apollonios' household in claiming payment of their *opsonia*: «and now they ask that some money be given them if they are expected to behave well» (εἰ μέλλουσιν εὐτακτῇσαι). Pyron, by now well known to the readers of the present paper, voiced his warning quite frankly in *PSI* IV 418.23-25: «stop being faithless (ἄσυνθετῶν) in matters on which you came to terms with us, lest we despond» ([ἵ]να μὴ [ἐ]ξαθυμῶμεν). In *PSI* VI 605.4-5, where the weaver Choirine demands for a slave girl, working with her, either an *opsonion* or an allowance of wool, might be restored: γυμνὴ γ[ὰρ οὐ]σα χαυ]νοτέρα γενέ[σθαι μέλλει· ὑπ]ὲρ <οὐ> οὐ γὰρ ἔχω πῶς ἐπιτειμήσω αὐτῇ<ι>, «as she is destitute, she is likely to slacken and I have no reason to blame her for that»; in that context χαυ]νοτέρα γενέ[σθαι μέλλει has the same function (grounds for a demand in favour of a third person) as οὐ γὰρ τὰς τυχούσας χρεΐας ἡμῖν παρέχεται in the above-mentioned *PSI* IV 335.4-5.

Whether the subject whose εὐταξία or willingness to work was at stake was the author of a document or a third party, the recipient of the document in question (in most cases Zenon) was very probably more interested in their 'orderly behaviour' than in their attempts to satisfy their needs (μὴ ἐνδεῆς εἶναι), although their ability to meet the latter was a condition of the former.

1.4.3. Attempts to reduce the cost of primary necessities must have been widespread, for we may assume that in most classes of the society dealt with in the Zenon archive (not in the upper class, however) the marginal utility of money was quite considerable.

In the Zenon archive there are a couple of petitions requesting the gratuitous provision, not in the form of maintenance or remuneration in kind, of goods satisfying primary needs⁴³: *PSI* V 528.11-12, in which Kleon

⁴² Ὅπως εὐτακτῇται (εὐτακτεῖν meaning in this context 'to pay regularly', cf. *LSJ* s.v. II).

⁴³ Demands of the same kind were also made with respect to necessities of a secondary order, cf. p. 136.

asks his father Zenon, probably after a waterpipe has broken down: «please take care of supplying us with water (περὶ ὕδατος φρόντισον) for we have been buying it for many days⁴⁴ past» (ἀγοράζομεν γὰρ πολλασταῖσι), *P. Cairo Zen.* II 59160.10-11, in which Nikon, agent of Apollonios in the Memphite nome, asks Zenon to send him some corn in order that he will not be obliged to buy at a high price (ὅπως μὴ τίμιον ἀγοράζωμεν) and III 59375.12-13, in which Addaios, another agent of Apollonios at Memphis, in a similar way defends his request to forward oil: if Zenon does not seal the σύμβολον for Zopyros so that the tax-collectors will allow him to carry it down the river, he should realize «that I will be obliged to buy from this neighbourhood some oil at a higher price» (γνώριζε ἡμᾶς ἀγορῶντα[ς ὥδεθεν] τιμέστ[ερον])⁴⁵.

Apart from (a) local circumstances⁴⁶ affecting the market places where consumer goods were offered for sale, (b) distinctions made by the government in fixing the price at which commodities produced under royal monopoly were to be sold in the constituent parts of the Ptolemaic empire⁴⁷, and (c) privileges granted by the king to certain groups of consumers⁴⁸, favourable prices could also be the result of seasonal factors. A request to be allowed to make a profit from them is found in *P. Lond.* VII 2061 in which Psintaes, a farmer on the *dorea*, writes to Zenon: «if you please, give orders to pay my salary and food allowance (τὸ ὀψώνιον καὶ τὴν σιτομετρίαν) so that I may buy corn⁴⁹, wheat now

⁴⁴ *P. Lond.* VII 2036 concerns an interruption for nine days of the water supply required by a βαλανεῖον run by a certain Isidora.

⁴⁵ If the supply of oil he demanded was intended for the slaves he was in charge of, Addaios, unlike Nikon (who was facing an increase of his cost of living), may have been trying to avoid an increase of operating expenses.

⁴⁶ E.g. local production, or, in the case of commodities obtained from elsewhere, easy conveyance, absence of tolls.

⁴⁷ Up to 259 B.C., in which year the regulations concerning the oil monopoly were changed, the price of a *metretes* of castor-oil (κίκι) was fixed, according to *P. Rev. Laws*, at 30 dr. in the chora (col. 40.12-13) and 48 dr. ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ δὲ καὶ τῇ Λιβύῃ πάσῃ (col. 40.16). That difference could probably only be maintained by levying toll (especially in Memphis) on oil transported downstream, cf. Claire PRÉAUX, *Économie royale*, p. 350-353, and EDGAR's commentary on *P. Cairo Zen.* V 59823.2.

⁴⁸ Cf. *PSI* V 531 in which the priests of the temple of Astarte in Memphis ask Zenon that, when buying their oil, the privilege granted to the temples of the Καρομεμφίται and the Ἑλληνομεμφίται be extended to their own sanctuary: δίδοται γὰρ ἔλαιον καὶ κίκι τιμῇς τὸν χαλμαῖαν (= *chous*, cf. J. BINGEN, *CE* 21, 1946, p. 146) τοῦ ἐλαίου (δρ.) β] (= 30 dr. for a *metretes*), καὶ τοῦ κίκιος (δρ.) α] (= 21 dr. for a *metretes*) (ll. 6-8).

⁴⁹ Cf. *Allocation, prêt à usage et don de biens de consommation dans les archives de Zénon*, *CE* 68 (1993), p. 208 n. 39. Unless the clause ὅπως σιτωνέσω is to be connected only with ἀποδοῦναί μοι τὸ ὀψώνιον and with τὰς ἐκ δραχμᾶς, we may assume that

being cheap (ὅπως σιτωνέσω, τοῦ σίτου εὐώνου ὄντος), and (also to pay) the six drachmas» (ll. 11-13). In *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59363 the prospect of «ever falling prices (τιμὰς ἐπε<υ>ωνιζούσας ἐκάστης ἡμέρας), now by 4, now by 2 chalkoi» (ll. 14-16) is for Zenon's friend Philinos reason to insist on a speedy delivery of the quantities of barley and wheat which, I presume, he intended *to sell*. It is not clear whether Zenon was expected to ask round or to await the right moment in order to comply with Kriton's request in *P. Mich. Zen.* 42 concerning a purchase of 100 artabas of wheat on behalf of Polemon, who wanted to have them for the nourishment of his household (εἰ[ς] διατροφήν τῆς οἰκίας): «you will do me a favour then by buying them for him as advantageously as possible» (ὥς λυσιτελέστατα).

*

* *

2. The need (χρεία) of necessities of a secondary order

Owing to the fact that in the social classes dealt with in this paper ordinary food and clothing played an important role not only in the maintenance of slaves but also in the *remuneration* of wage earners, the consumer of the previous paragraphs was the person who *used up* natural or manufactured goods rather than the one who *bought* goods to satisfy his needs, and his behaviour in most cases was aimed merely at securing and raising his share of such goods; people like the just mentioned Polemon, trying to *buy* ὥς λυσιτελέστατα a year's supply of wheat εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, very probably formed, in the society illustrated by the Zenon archive, a small minority among the consumers of grain. Non-essential necessities on the contrary were not a means of remuneration and therefore the behaviour of most consumers in that area⁵⁰ comes closer to modern 'consumer behaviour'; prior to the days of the consumer society, however, whose prerequisite is that the primary needs of most of its members are satisfied, the area of e.g. *choice* food and that of schooling and recreation were open to only a very small part of a population.

Psintaes intended to use also his *sitometria* (consisting, according to l. 9, in two artabas of *barley*) in order to 'buy corn', which must be understood as 'buying wheat'. Either for seasonal reasons or because of an exceptionally rich harvest, wheat must have been cheap or even unusually cheap at the time he wrote his request.

⁵⁰ Not *all* consumers, because in the top class, to which Apollonios belonged, the need of choice food was satisfied partly by products bred or grown on the consumers' own domains, partly by ξένια sent to their residence.

Whereas the rations received by a common wage earner in many cases did not correspond with what he would have bought if his salary were paid entirely in cash, and whereas the rare appearance of meat on his table was a direct consequence of the meagreness of his *opsonion*, it may be assumed that the space occupied by *ordinary* edibles in Zenon's housekeeping books was determined by his taste, not by budgetary considerations, for his monthly wage must have amounted on its own to some 200 or 300 drachmas⁵¹.

2.1. Non-essential necessities consisted on the one hand of *choice* food, clothing and domestic utensils, on the other hand of goods and services in the field of medical care, teaching, travel and relaxation. Choice food: in *P. Mich. Zen.* 48.1-5 Zenon is instructed by the dioecetes, who needed (χρεῖαν ἔχων) a large supply of fowls and hens to be fattened for the table, to buy them and send them to Ptolemais ἐπὶ τοῦ διστούμου. Choice clothing: in *P. Cairo Zen.* II 59148.3-5 Hierokles writes to Zenon: «you will do well by buying for Ptolemaios⁵² a himation and a chiton⁵³ and to send them with the young slave, for you take too long to bring them yourself and Ptolemaios happens to be in need of them» (Πτολεμαῖωι δὲ τυγχάνει χρέα οὔσα). Choice σκεύη (domestic utensils): two letters by Amyntas⁵⁴ concern a certain Demetrios, to whom, ἀκατασκεύωι ὄντι, silverware had been lent. In *P. Cairo Zen.* II 59241 Zenon orders Krotos to contract with Artemidoros for the making of a mattress required for Peisikles, storekeeper in the household of Apollonios: χρέα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ὥστε Πισικλεῖ (l. 4). Medical care: in *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59426.5-7 Dromon asks Zenon to order his people to buy a kotyle of Attic honey, for he has been commanded by the god to use this as a medication for his eyes (χρεῖαν γὰρ ἔχω πρὸς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κατὰ

⁵¹ That was, according to *P. Lond.* VII 1963.12 (*scriptura interior*: 300 dr.) and 26 (*scriptura exterior*: 200 dr.), the salary (ὀψώνιον) received by his predecessor Panakestor; we can safely assume that Zenon's salary was of the same order.

⁵² Master of a palaestra in Alexandria.

⁵³ Corrected to «and another for summer».

⁵⁴ In *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59044.21-29, Amyntas informs Apollonios that Demetrios (formerly an *antigrapheus* to the oeconomus in the Prosopites), owing to various circumstances short of money and comforts, had asked him for a loan of money in order to equip himself with the necessities of life (ἵνα κατασκευασθῇ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις); in *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59038.5, written by Amyntas to Zenon at the time of Demetrios' request, he is described as ἀκατάσκευος. The term is applied (by Amyntas!) to πλοῖα in *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59053.4 and restored in the very fragmentary *P. Cairo Zen.* II 59234.5 ([ἀκατά]σκευοὶ ἐσμεν).

πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ); in *PSI* IV 413.3-22 a certain Kudippos, on doctors' orders, wants to obtain from Zenon, if available (εἰ παράκειται σοι), in addition to a keramion of sweet wine, a chous of honey and a jar of dried fish, «for they believe that I need both of them more than anything else (τούτων γάρ ἀμφοτέρων πλείστην χρεῖαν νομίζουσιν εἶναι). Travel: in *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59507.7-11, in which Pyrrhos (whose preparation for athletic games was financed by Zenon⁵⁵) writes to his patron: «when I was about to sail downstream to you and in need of travelling-money (οὐκ ἔχοντος ἐφόδιον), my mother pawned a himation for 1 1/2 drachma»; to be compared with *PSI* V 495 16-17, where Herakleitos informs Zenon «we are short of travelling-money (ἡμῖν τε τὸ ἐφόδιον ἐγλέλοιπεν) and live out our life borrowing money», and *PSI* V 525.6-10, where Demetrios, after reminding Zenon of the expenses that are proper to sojourning ἐν πόλει, tells him: «after having been upheld there for several days, I borrowed money and sailed back upstream».

2.2. In the matter of goods satisfying needs of a secondary order it looks as if there existed in the middle class a tendency that aimed at something more than 'respectability' (εὐσχημονεῖν) by acquiring, within the limits of one's financial capabilities, goods associated with people higher up the social ladder. Men like Zenon or Artemidoros, the physician-in-ordinary to the dioecetes, were apparently inclined to emulate Apollonios and his peers by becoming the owner of a country cottage⁵⁶, ornamental weapons, silverware, purple-dyed mattresses and carpets, ornamental weapons, an aviary of rare birds, or by financing the education of talented young people such as Pyrrhos and Heracleotes, the former trained in athletics, the latter in playing and singing to the cithara. In their turn Apollonios and the members of the Ptolemaic top class were keen on imitating the pomp of the Court⁵⁷: it seems likely that Zenon, in maintaining an aviary⁵⁸, followed in a more modest way a pastime of Apollonios, whose possession of gazelles, caught alive by his own hunters, may have been

⁵⁵ An expenditure contributing to Zenon's prestige, in the same way as the ownership and maintenance of a racing stable of horses would have done.

⁵⁶ Cf. on Artemidoros' country house at Philadelphia *P. Cairo Zen.* II 59251.6-7, III 59399 verso and *P. Mich. Zen.* 84.18, 21.

⁵⁷ Cf. Claire PRÉAUX, *Les Grecs en Egypte*, p. 82: «Apollonios imite le faste de la cour».

⁵⁸ Cf. *PSI* VI 569, concerning the increase of his collection by a present from his friend Philinos.

an imitation, within the limits of his own means, of Philadelphus' zoological garden which was stocked with all sorts of rare wild animals⁵⁹.

2.3. Before enlarging on endeavours to reduce the cost of less ambitious necessities of a secondary order I will deal with a case in which an attempt was made to obtain from Apollonios the financing of a temple, i.e. of a good that would normally satisfy a (religious) need experienced not by an individual but by a whole community. In *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59034, however, that need was completely overlooked and the prospect of Apollonios' *financial* profit was used with astonishing frankness in an attempt to persuade him into making expenses alleged in the first place to safeguard the petitioner's health⁶⁰. The author of the document in question was a certain Zoilos, residing abroad, «who had been ordered by the god Sarapis to sail over to Alexandria and inform Apollonios of his decree that a temple should be built for him in the Greek quarter of the town where the writer lived» and who, on seeking to decline the order and, later, on speaking to Apollonios about another affair, had been successfully overtaken by a dangerous illness and by a long relapse; he informed Apollonios of the whole story and begged him to provide means for the construction of the temple, assuring: «you should not be afraid that its cost will entail for you great expenses; on the contrary it will pay for expenses incurred (ἔσται σοι ἀπὸ πάνυ λυσιτελοῦντος), for I will jointly supervise all these works» (ll. 21-23). Equally unconvincing was the prospect of financial profit dangled before Zenon's eyes by a certain Hermokrates in *PSI* IV 392 by assuring that, if the lawsuit in which he was involved turned to his advantage, he would pay back to Zenon twice the financial aid which he hoped to receive from him in order to remunerate his barristers⁶¹: εὖ δὲ γίνωσκε διότι ὁ ἄν συμβάλῃ εἰς τὴν [σω]τηρίαν μου etc. κομιτῇ<ι> διπλάσιον (ll. 9-10)⁶².

⁵⁹ Παράδοξοι θῆρες, cf. Diodorus III 36.3 and H.M. HUBBELL, *Ptolemy's Zoo*, *CJ* 31 (1935), p. 68-76.

⁶⁰ The petitioner's health, imperiled on two occasions by Sarapis in order to punish his disobedience. And at the same time Apollonios' health, cf. I 59034.18-21: «you will do well, Apollonios, to follow the orders of the god, in order that Sarapis may be very merciful towards you and render you μείζω παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἐνδοξότερον μετὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὑγείας».

⁶¹ Τοὺς προστάντας τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν (l. 5).

⁶² If things went wrong, Zenon's profit would consist, according to *PSI* IV 392.11-12, in what Claire PRÉAUX (*Les Grecs en Egypte*, p. 85) translated as follows: «la satisfaction d'être le seul à ne pas t'être détourné d'un homme qui fut irréprochable à ton égard et

2.4. Attempts to reduce the cost of non-essential necessities commonly consisted in demanding a present of wine or choice food, and in securing gratuitous services; in stipulating a maximum cost not to be exceeded, in bargaining, in paying a deposit; in asking round or waiting for a favourable occasion, and in demanding help to escape toll collection. There is evidence of a certain degree of cost-conscious behaviour and also of aversion to useless expenses.

2.4.1. Gratuitous acquisition of choice food is the aim of a letter (*P. Lond.* VII 2041) sent to Zenon by a vine-dresser called Menon⁶³ who, after reminding Zenon that he is carrying out his duties profitably (λυσιτελῶς) and blamelessly and after promising to manage even better in future (πειράσομαι δὲ καὶ ἔτι βέλτιον προστῆναι) (ll. 1-5), asks him to give orders for a *metretes* of sweet wine to be given to him (δοθῆναι μοι), «in order that I may pour a libation on behalf of you and Apollo-nios to the spirit of the place» (ll. 5-10), and also of another letter (*P. Cairo Zen.* III 59419, cf. IV p. 289) in which a certain Demetrios tries to persuade Zenon to give for the birthday of his little son (τοῦ ἑμοῦ μικροῦ) some wine (οἰνάριον), a young pig and an artaba of wheat, «in order that his mother may spend the day as is the custom» (ll. 4-9).

Gratuitous rendering of services is announced in *P. Lond.* VII 1941, by which Hierokles informs Zenon that the cost of having Pyrrhos trained for participation in the athletic games will be reduced to the boy's maintenance, since «Ptolemaios does not charge any fees (οὐ μισθοὺς ἐκπράσσεται), as do the other trainers, [but simply hopes] to win you the crown in return for the kindnesses which you, when a complete stranger, volunteered to him» (ll. 8-9). Gratuitous services were agreed on in *PSI* IV 424.10-16, in which a certain Agesilaos commits himself to pledge his son Ptolemaios, πεπαιδευμένος πᾶσαν παιδείαν, to Zenon against a loan of 100 dr., «without receiving from you anything» (οὐδὲν παρὰ σοῦ λαβών⁶⁴) and in *P. Cairo Zen.* IV 59667 (contract concerning a bath leased by Zenon) whose deleted lines 8-10 seem to have contained, according to Edgar's introduction to this document,

qu'un coup du sort a plongé dans la honte». She called it «la satisfaction désintéressée d'avoir fait une bonne action».

⁶³ Author also of *PSI* IV 414, cf. p. 124.

⁶⁴ When pledging their children, the parents, at least in some cases, received an allowance in cash or in kind, cf. *P. Col. Zen.* I 6.9-11 concerning Simale mother of Herophantos (in *P. Corn.* 1.216-217 she receives half a *kotyle* of lamp-oil, probably on occasion of a visit to her son, travelling in Apollonios' retinue).

some provisions for free baths for Zenon and other persons in the retinue of Apollonios.

2.4.2. In *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59501 Zenon is asked to buy for Polemon, Artemon and Drakon, in view of the Arsinoeia, a porker «of a quality as good as possible, costing up to 20 dr.» (ll. 5-6); in *P. Col. Zen.* II 107.3-6 (postscript to a letter in Zenon's hand) Aigyptos, an agent in Apollonios' service, is instructed «to bring up from Memphis a trunk (paying) up to six drachmas, a nosebag for a donkey, and from the Thebaid a himation of 3 1/2 minas weight, (paying) up to 28 drachmas». In *P. Cairo Zen.* II 59225.2-6 Artemidoros, physician-in-ordinary to the dioecetes, expresses his conditional readiness to pay for a certain horse (not actually for sale), «useful for nothing except for breeding» (ἐπ' οὐθὲν ἄλλο χρήσιμον ἔξω εἰς ὀχείαν) in a less precise way: «if we can get him for a trifle» (ἐὰν ᾗ μικροῦ τινος λαβεῖν).

Bargaining is promised to Zenon, in the early years of his career, by the loquacious author of *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59019.5-6: «as for their curing⁶⁵, we shall try to have them done for a chalkous each, or at most for two chalkoi; he (the expert who had been called in) himself says that at the Court he cures dice for half an obol each; you can, he said, ask Antipatros the Etesian, for whom, he said, he has done some curing».

In *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59375 9-10 Zenon is reminded by Addaios, demanding an article εἰς κοίτην or εἰς κοῦράν⁶⁶ to be bought up for him and his people⁶⁷, of a rule applied in commerce: «for if we pay in advance, we shall get it cheaper» ([εὖω]νότερον γὰρ προδόντες λημψόμεθα).

2.4.3. Various people appealing to the benevolence of their correspondent conclude their letter or their petition with an invitation quite characteristic of an era in which goods for sale and their prices might vary considerably from one marketplace to another: «and write to us if you have any need of anything here⁶⁸, as we shall be glad to do your will»⁶⁹.

⁶⁵ The curing of dice made of gazelles' bones.

⁶⁶ *LSJ* κοίτη s.v. III: 'lodging, entertainment'; κουρά, s.v. II 2: 'wool shorn, fleece'.

⁶⁷ Μὴ ἀμελήσης ἵνα συναγορασθῇ ἡμῖν.

⁶⁸ Τῶν ἐνταῦθα in *P. Cairo Zen.* V 59843.4; τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς in V 59823.9, *PSI* IV 333.16-17, *P. Mich. Zen.* 78.5; τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν or ἡμῶν in *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59405. 11, *P. Mich. Zen.* 23.8-9, 85.5. More precision in *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59015 verso 13 (τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ) and 37-38 (τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας) and especially in *PSI* V 615.5-6 (ὧν ἂν χρειᾶν ἔχης ἀπὸ Μέμφεως).

In *PSI* IV 387.1-2 Sisouchos' dispatch of various articles which he had bought for Zenon⁷⁰ appears to have taken place in accordance with a previous invitation of his: «ἐγράψα[μέν σοι e.g. ἄλλοτε], ἔάν τινας χρείαν ἔχῃς διδόναι[ι τῷ δεῖναι] τὰ γράμματα». Whether somebody had «any need of anything here» depended on the result of a preliminary questioning. This practice is attested clearly in *P. Cairo Zen.* II 59250, in which Promethion, banker at Mendes, inquires after the price of wax at Zenon's place: [γράψον οὗ]ν μοι τίς ἡ τιμή ἐστίν (l. 4), and we may assume that it also preceded the orders that were placed in the following letters. In *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59488.2 a certain Paramonos, ὀπλομάχος (drill-instructor), asks Zenon to buy for him, in Memphis where they are cheap (εὖωνοι γὰρ εἰσιν ἐμ Μέμφει), twelve good strigils of Sicyonian workmanship; in II 59148.3-5 Hierokles, Zenon's Alexandrian friend, informs him that Ptolemaios (the athletic trainer of *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59060 4 and *P. Lond.* VII 1941.6,8) has asked Kallikon's slave to pass by Philadelphia in order that Zenon may buy and send him two ἱμάτια, which are said to be cheaper up the river than in Alexandria (ἀκούων γὰρ ἄνω εὖωνα εἶναι οὐκ ἠγόρακεν ἐνθὲνδε); cf. also, despite the absence of any reference to cheapness, the above-mentioned *P. Col. Zen.* II 107.3-5 where Zenon instructs Aigyptos, *agent de liaison* of Apollonios, «to bring up from Memphis a trunk etc. and a nosebag for a donkey, and from the Thebaid a himation of 3 1/2 minas weight».

As for demanding help to avoid toll collection, after asking Zenon to send to Pyrrhos a bathing-apron, a tunic and cloak, a mattress, coverlet and pillows, and a provision of honey, Hierokles, the author of *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59060, added the following note: «you wrote to me that you were surprised at my not understanding that all these things are subject to toll. I know it, but you are well able to arrange for them to be sent in perfect security» (ll. 10-11)⁷¹.

⁶⁹ The reciprocal character of that sort of invitations is (as far as the text is preserved) clearly expressed in *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59405.9-14: «do not hesitate to write to us if you have any need of anything here, for just as we are a trouble to you, we should towards you under no pretext [—]».

⁷⁰ Their price is indicated in great detail: 100 pieces of a certain article at a total price of 5 dr. 2 ob.; 4 bandages, 3 of which costing 2 dr. 1 ob. 4 ch. each, the fourth 2 dr. 3 ob. 4 ch.; a piece (ἱστός) of linen cloth costing 13 dr. 3 ob.

⁷¹ Translation of C.C. EDGAR in *Select Papyri* I, p. 271. Ἀλλὰ σὺ εἰκανὸς εἶ διοικῶν ἵνα ἀποσταλῇ ὡς ἀσφαλέςτατα was rendered by Claire PRÉAUX, *Les Grecs en Egypte*, p. 61, as follows: «mais tu es homme à t'arranger pour que cela me parvienne sans encombre».

2.4.4. Cost-conscious behaviour was limited to price comparison. In *P. Cairo Zen.* V 59823.2-5, the above-mentioned Promethion, who was keen on buying a provision of wax, tells Zenon, who had informed him⁷² that the cost per talent came to 44 dr. in Philadelphia, that in Mendes (ἐνταῦθα) one paid 48 dr. (not 40 dr., as Zenon believed) and concludes: «you will consequently do well to send me as much wax as you can». In *P. Lond.* VII 2053.5-6 a certain Sostratos writes to Zenon: «I made inquiries about the price of wine and I found that Theodotos is selling a jar⁷³ for 8 dr. whereas the wine-retailers sell it for 9 dr.»

As for the fear of useless expenses, it must have grown as the actual *χρεία* of an article or a service diminished. Such was the case in passing from the primary necessities of life to non-essential needs, and again in passing from the field of body care to that of schooling or recreation. The fear of unprofitable expenses in financing a young lad's education is illustrated by what Zenon thought of further continuing Pyrrhos' athletic training; his opinion is quoted by Hierokles in *P. Lond.* VII 1941.2-4: «you wrote to me about Pyrrhos, that if we know for certain that he will win, to train him, but if not, that it should not happen both that he is distracted from his lessons (ἀπό τε τῶν γραμμάτων) and that useless expense is incurred» (καὶ ἀνήλωμα μάταιον προσπείν)⁷⁴.

*
* *

Anger over belated *sitometria* and *opsonia* is mainly expressed in threats to diminish one's obligingness or neglect one's duties. The opposite of such threats never appears in petitions claiming payment of wages or distribution of grain. Promises of greater diligence are only made by people demanding presents, loans or other favours: one of these⁷⁵, in asking for a *metretes* of sweet wine, promises Zenon «to

⁷² In reply to *P. Cairo Zen.* II 59250.4, quoted earlier.

⁷³ Probably a βανωτός, cf. Skeat's remarks on ll. 5-6. According to *GZA* p. 552 a βανωτός contained between 44 and 63 *kotylai*. As wine normally cost 6 dr. for a *keramion* of 6 χόες = 72 *kotylai*, the wines of which the prices were communicated to Zenon by Sostratos were probably of better quality.

⁷⁴ Far from being an investment in a profitable venture, as was believed by Claire PRÉAUX (*Les Grecs en Egypte*, p. 85) and Anna SWIDEREK (*JJP* 9-10, 1955-1956, p. 392-394), Zenon's expenses for Pyrrhos' athletic training appear to have been in his own view a patronage of which utility was open to question.

⁷⁵ Menon, vine-dresser, in *P. Lond.* VII 2041.4-5: πειράσομαι δὲ καὶ ἔτι βελτίον προστῆναι.

manage even better in future»; another⁷⁶, in order to press his demand for a *πρόχρησις* that would enable him to travel to Alexandria in decent clothes (cf. p. 126), promises that he would treble his services; a third⁷⁷ makes a promise of that sort by expressing the hope that Zenon's satisfaction in giving would increase by receiving, after putting him on some regular work⁷⁸, something extra in return⁷⁹.

As the lack of purchasing power was a result of the absence of any policy aiming at an equitable distribution of income, and as the hitches in the payment of salaries and in the distribution of corn (and other allowances in kind) were occasioned less by a lack of liquid assets or provisions than by abuse of power and corruption, it is rather surprising that verbal attempts to secure primary needs seldom conclude by pleading «in order that right me be done to me» (ἵνα τοῦ δικαίου τύχω⁸⁰). Neither among the petitioners, nor among the public scribes to whom some of the nominal authors of our documents must have addressed themselves and whose role, liked that of a stonecutter engraving a funerary inscription, was not limited to the application of a technique unknown to their customers, does belief in that argument appear to have been very strong.

B-3012 Wilsele

T. REEKMANS

Natuurvriendenlaan 2

⁷⁶ A certain Nikolaos in *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59477.12-13: τάς τε χρείας σοι παρεξόμεθα τριπλασίως. That promise was emphasized by ὅσον ἂν χρόνον λειτουργῶμέν σοι (II. 13-14) and enfeebled in its tenor by ὥσπερ καὶ ἔμπροσθεν (I. 14).

⁷⁷ Theon (cf. p. 123) in *P. Cairo Zen.* V 59852.3-6.

⁷⁸ Cf. *P. Cairo Zen.* V 59852.3: ἀξιῶ δέ σε τάξει με ἐπὶ τινος. A similar demand appears to have been made by the author of *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59409, probably a παιδίσκη, who asked Zenon, after being transferred temporarily from another post to his house, to tell her ἐν ἧ ἔσομαι τάξει (II. 5-6). In *PSI* V 541.4-5 that kind of demand was addressed by a certain Aigyptos to the king: πρόσταξον κατατάξει με οὗ σοι φαίνεται.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* I. 6: σύ τε ἡδὶον διδῶις ποιούντός τι ἐμοῦ πλέον σοι. The phrase ποιεῖν πλεῖον τι is also used by an ἐγκυρτής in *PSI* IV 352.5-6.— Good intentions were also expressed by the author of *P. Ryl.* IV 570 on demanding that he be released from prison in Crocodilopolis, where he was detained on a charge of complicity in a robbery: θέλω δέ σοι καὶ ἔμμεν[ον] ἀνέγκλητον ἐν τῇ χρείᾳ παρεχέσθαι ὥστε σε μηθὲν ἐγκαλεῖν (II. 6-7).

⁸⁰ Among the documents examined in this paper such is the case in *PSI* IV 399.10-11: ἵνα μὴ τῷ ρίγει καὶ τῇ λιμῷ ἀπλόωμαι ἀλλὰ (TR) διὰ σέ, βασιλεῦ, τετευχώς ὃ τοῦ δικαίου and in IV 419.2-4: ἵνα ἐξελθόντες διακριθῶμεν πρὸς Διονύσιον περὶ ὧν ἐπικαλεῖ ἡμῖν, καὶ μὴ παραπολώμεθα ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ τῷ λιμῷ ξένοι ὄντες, ἀλλὰ κριθέντες διὰ σέ (Zénon) τοῦ δικαίου τύχωμεν; in neither case, however, did the lawsuit demanded by the petitioner have anything to do with his salary or σιτομετρία.

AN ENTEUXIS FROM THE ZENON ARCHIVE FROM A FEMALE PLAINTIFF*

Both the left and right margins of this text, an *enteuxis* from the Zenon archive, are preserved — the left margin on a Heidelberg papyrus (now *P. Zen. Pestm.* 19; the papyrus was reported missing in 1976 by R. Seider)¹, the right on a papyrus from the University of Michigan Papyrus Collection, here published for the first time. Approximately 32 letters appear to have been lost between the two fragments at their most mutilated points. The writing is a typical mid-third century hand². The text is written against the fibers, as was usual for *enteuxeis*³. An interlinear line seems to have been added between 12 and 13, to judge by the abnormally small amount of space between the writing of these lines, the interlinear spacing being otherwise uniformly generous. This suggests that our text was not the original text, deposited with the strategos, but a copy (additions and corrections usually being taken in such petitions as possible evidence that the text is a draft or a copy). The Michigan papyrus is 22 cm wide by 14 cm high. The top margin is 2.3–2.5 cm. There are three obvious horizontal folds, about 3.5–3.7 cm apart. There is only one clear vertical fold 9 cm from the right margin, and possibly another 5.5 cm from the same. No *kollesis* is visible. The back is blank.

In 1938, the late Richard Seider published, as an appendix to his dissertation, the left side of an *enteuxis* that he believed belonged to the

* We wish to thank Ludwig Koenen for his kind permission to publish this text here, and Willy Clarysse who read an earlier version of this article.

Guide refers to P.W. PESTMAN *et alii*, *A Guide to the Zenon Archive: Lists and Surveys* (*Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava*, 21A), Leiden 1981. Any other abbreviations should be self-explanatory.

¹ Prof. D. Hagedorn has confirmed (16 July 1994) that the papyrus is still lost.

² The writing is in general quite angular. Its notable features are: *alpha* is written similar to *lambda*, *sigma* and *omicron* are small, *mu* is written with a curved middle stroke rather than two straight ones, and the arms of *kappa* do not form an angle, idiosyncratically for this period. Cf. *P. Petrie*² I, plates 5-9.

³ E.G. TURNER, *The Terms Recto and Verso*, in *Actes XVe Congrès International de Papyrologie* I, Bruxelles 1978, p. 35-36, summarizing O. GUÉRAUD, *P. Enteux.*, p. xix-xxii.

Seider (see following note) does not report on the direction of the writing relative to the fibers, but Tait's assumption (*P. Zen. Pestm.* 19) that the Heidelberg papyrus was written against the fibers is now shown to be correct.

Zenon archive⁴. Although W.J. Tait correctly states in his re-edition (*P. Zen. Pestm.* 19) that there was little in «the document itself to connect it with the archive», it can now be said with certainty that Seider was right. A new papyrus from the University of Michigan Papyrus Collection contains the right half of the text, naming as the defendant Eukles, who succeeded Zenon in the administration of Apollonios' estate near Philadelphia in 248 B.C.⁵

No regnal year survives. On the prosopographical evidence of three officials mentioned in it, we would date this text no earlier than 244, and no later than 242 B.C.:

(1) Eukles ὁ ἐν Φιλαδελφείαι (l. 1 and ll. 9-10; also l. 11), son of Dionysios, and brother of Demetrios, took charge of the former estate of Apollonios no earlier than December 15, 248 B.C., and remained in that position till no later than 242 B.C. (= year 4 or 5), after the dorea returned to the state upon Apollonios' death in 246-245 B.C.⁶

(2) The sitologos Herakleides (l. 3) occurs in five documents ranging in date from 250 through 244 B.C. (cf. *Guide*, p. 337, s.n. 5 = *Pros. Ptol.* I 1367, without addenda)⁷. It cannot therefore be excluded that Herakleides remained in this office later than 244 B.C.

(3) The strategos Aphthonetos (l. 12) is attested between 244/3 and 222/1 B.C. (cf. *Guide*, p. 307, s.n. = *Pros. Ptol.* I & VIII 236).

A woman (whose name is lost) has placed 5 (?) mattocks or hoes as security (?) for a transaction involving a man named Teos. While she is

⁴ R. SEIDER, *Beiträge zur ptolemäischen Verwaltungsgeschichte: der Nomarches, der Dioiketes Apollonios (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums und des Mittelalters)*, Heidelberg 1938, p. 76-77. The text is reprinted as *SB VIII* 9798.

⁵ Pestman explains that Apollonios the scribe, Zenon's brother, was the owner of the archive, and in that way the papers of both Eukles and Zenon were kept together (*P. Zen. Pestm.*, p. 5-6, and *Guide*, p. 179 n. 6).

⁶ *Guide*, p. 248 = *Pros. Ptol.* I 236. The *Pros. Ptol. Addenda* refer to E. SEIDL, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte (Aegyptologische Forschungen, 22)*, Hamburg — New York 1962, p. 41-42, for his discussion of the Eukles archive and its date. For the date, see now *Guide*, p. 179-180, and the fundamental article by Cl. ORRIEUX, *Les archives d'Euclès et la fin de la 'dôréa' du diécète Apollonios*, *CE* 55 (1980), p. 213ff.

⁷ The last text in which he is mentioned in this office is *P. Col. Zen.* II 87, dating from the summer of 244 B.C. Herakleides was no doubt the official in charge of the granary at Philadelphia, first mentioned in 250 B.C. (*P. Col. Zen.* I 54 l. 13, although it is a probable supplement in *SB XIV* 11659, l. 12a [256 B.C.]). No other *sitologos* is mentioned who is specifically linked to the Philadelphia granary in this period (there were at least 5 other granaries in the Herakleides *meris*, according to A. CALDERINI, *ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΙ. Ricerche di topografia e di storia della pubblica amministrazione nell' Egitto greco-romano* [Studi della Scuola Papirologica, IV III], Milano 1924, p. 48) to establish a firm *terminus ante quem*.

away, Teos seems to have fled, and the mattocks then become a matter of dispute between her and a certain Herakleides, perhaps the sitologos mentioned in l. 3 (cf. the note on l. 4). Testimony is presented that he swears these mattocks belong to him, and Eukles may have compelled her to turn them over to him. Whatever the outcome might have been, the plaintiff was evidently not satisfied with it, since she now petitions the king for redress.

The *enteuxis* came into the archive because Eukles was named as the defendant. Although a number of petitions to the king have been found among the papers of the archive, these are normally those written by Zenon himself, or those referred to him for action, whether explicitly or implicitly, as Pestman rightly says⁸. This is the only petition in the archive which names the estate manager as a defendant, and may be the only text where we can say with some certainty that the defendant in such cases before the king received a copy of the petition.

The Heidelberg portion of the text is printed here according to the edition in *P. Zen. Pestm.* 19 and italicized.

P. Heidelberg inv. 1880 + P. Mich. inv. 3628 ca. 244–242 B.C.

- 1 *Βασιλεῖ Π[τολεμαῖοι χαίρειν NN· Ἄδικοῦ]μαι ὑπὸ Εὐκλέους*
τοῦ ἐν Φιλαδελφείαι. Θέντος γάρ
- 2 *μοι Τεῶ[τος τοῦ NN ca. 22-33]ε πρ[ὸς] (δραχμὰς) ιβ χαλκοῦ.*
Ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀποδημησάσης ἀνεχώρη-
- 3 *σε τὸν σω[ca. 26-36]..[....].[.].ου ἀποστείλας Ἡρακλείδης ὁ*
σιτολόγος τρεῖς
- 4 *μαχίμ<ρ>[υς ca. 26-36]ον Ἡρακλείδην καὶ κατέκλεισαν*
αὐτήν τ' ἐμὲ
- 5 *ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ ca. 26-36]νον παρὰ Τεῶτος. Ἐγὼ δὲ*
ἀνωμολογησάμην ἔχειν
- 6 *Ἡρακλείδην[ca. 10-15] ἀληθῆ προ[– – –. Ἐμοῦ δὲ*
ἀξιούσης εἰσαί εἰσιν, ὥς φῆς, αἱ δίκηλλαι παραγεγόμε-
- 7 *νος πρὸς τό[ca. 10-15]..σθαι με[.]ε[.]ας εἶναι τὰς δικέλλας*
καὶ κομίσαι ἀποδοῦς μοι πρὸς
- 8 *ὁ ἀπ[]κ[ἐπὶ τὸν] βωμὸν ὥμοσεν αὐτοῦ εἶναι τὰς*
δικέλλας μηθένα τε
- 9 *ἐνοχλήσ[ca. 26-36]όμ[ε]νον. Μεθ' ἡμέρας δὲ ἰς ἀποστείλας*
Εὐκλῆς

⁸ *Guide*, p. 190.

- 10 ὁ ἐμ Φιλαδελ[φείαι ca. 25] βουλομένη[] ἀπέδωκας Ἡρακ-
 λείδῃ. Ἐμ[ε] δὲ ἐγγυῶ ὅτι συνα-
 11 ναγκασθεῖς[α ca. 30] ἔδωκεν τε.[] φύλακι ὁ Εὐκλῆς
 πρὸς τὰ[ς] δικέλλας ἂν ἐγγε-
 12α μὴ περ]ιδεῖν με ἀδικουμέν[ην.]
 12 γύημαι τεμ[α ca. 30] δέομαι οὖν σου, β[ασιλεῦ, προ]στάξαι
 Ἀφθονήτῳ[ι τῷ στρ]ατηγῷ ἀνακα-
 13 λέσασθαι ἐπὶ [ca. 30] ἰδὴν καὶ ἡ ἄ [γράφω ἀληθῆ] λον
 14 τῆς διεγγ[υ ca. 30] . γω [] δης
 15 ἀνωμολογεῖτ[ο ca. 25] ἵνα ἐπὶ] σὲ, βα[σιλ]εῦ, καταφυγ[ο]ῦ[σα]
 16 τύχω τοῦ δικ[αίου]. Εὐτύχει.

NOTES

1. In view of the length of the lacuna, probably only the name of the woman without any further qualification (such as her father's name) was given⁹.

Eukles, who succeeded Zenon as the administrator of the δωρεά around Philadelphia in 248 B.C., is once called ἐπιστάτης (*Pros. Ptol.* I 665 + VIII Add. — see the introduction) and once οἰκονόμος (*Pros. Ptol.* I 1041). The official in this text is undoubtedly the same person, as becomes clear from the qualification ὁ ἐν Φιλαδελφείαι (Il. 1, 9-10). In *P. Col. Zen.* II 90, Eukles is also involved in a matter concerning mat-tocks, which, however, had nothing to do with the present case.

For Philadelphia in general, see A. CALDERINI – S. DARIS, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell' Egitto greco-romano* V, Milano 1987, p. 74ff.; *Supplemento* I, Milano 1988, p. 247; cf. also W. CLARYSSE, *Philadelphia and the Memphites in the Zenon Archive*, in *Studies in Ptolemaic Memphis* (*Studia Hellenistica*, 24), Lovanii 1980, p. 91ff.

1-2. Θέντος γάρ μοι Τεῶ[τος τοῦ NN]: supplement, e.g., δάνειον: see *P. Grenf.* II 318: μέρος δανείου οὗ ἔθετο.

2. The position of χαλκοῦ after, rather than before, the sign for drachmas is strange.

Ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀποδημησάσης: cf. *P. Cair. Zen.* IV 59569 ll. 55-56: ἀποδημοῦντος Ζήνωνος. Cf. the petition to Zenon, published by W.

⁹ Cf. F. UEBEL, *Die Kleruchen Aegyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern* (*Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst*, Jahrgang 1968 Nr. 3), Berlin 1968, p. 11-13, and *P. Heid.* VI, p. 150.

Clarysse in his article *Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek*, CE 68 (1993), p. 186ff. (cf. W. Clarysse — K. Vandorpe, *Zenon, een Grieks manager in de schaduw van de piramiden*, Leuven 1990, p. 16-17), where is also a question of ἀποδημεῖν and of a παρακαταθήκη.

Τεῶ[τος τοῦ NN]: Teos is the Greek rendering of the common Egyptian name *Dd-hr*, cf. *Guide*, p. 426ff.; D.J. Crawford, *Kerkeosiris: an Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period*, Cambridge 1971, p. 196. Besides the (short) name of his father a further qualification of Teos, such as his place of residence, cannot have been given *in lacuna* if our supplement of the lacuna in this line is correct.

]ε: a possible supplement for the end of the lacuna might be ἔδωκα ἀντῶι ἐνέχυρον δικέλλας] ε. In *P. Tebt.* III 720 (before 238 B.C.) 4 drachmas are paid for one mattock each.

2-3 ἀνεχώρησε: ἀναχωρεῖν has also in the Zenon archive the denotation «to flee from one's obligations».

τὸν σω[: Seider's supplement, [ἐπὶ] σὲ τὸν σω[τῆρα καταφεύγω, is out of place at the beginning of the *narratio rei* (the direct appeal to the king typically comes in the final appeal). Since the accusative cannot depend on ἀνεχώρησε, it has to be connected with a verbal form (a participle perhaps) lost in the following lacuna. It is hard to see what could be a better supplement than τὸν σω[τῆρα]. One might supply, e.g., προδοῦς. Teos, in fleeing from his obligations, betrayed his savior, i.e. the king. If we assume that σω is the beginning of a personal name, the article (τὸν) shows that this person has been named before, which seems hardly likely.

4. μαχίμ(ο)[υς: the *sitologos* Herakleides sent three *machimoi*. Seider's reading, μαχίμω[ι], does not fit the context now with the Michigan fragment in place. A partial *omicron* is mistakable for *omega* in this hand (it seems pointless to speculate about a mistake *iuxta lacunam* — cf. *ZPE* 38, 1980, p. 294). It seems clear that the *sitologos* has sent in the police to take some unspecified action. The ability of a *sitologos* to use *machimoi* in this way is unexampled elsewhere.

In this line, as in ll. 6, 10, 13 (probably), and 14 (probably), a certain Herakleides appears. The name is a common one (there are more than 18 distinct Herakleides in the Zenon archive, see *Guide*, p. 336-337). Although it may be that two distinct people of the same name are referred to in these lines, it is our opinion that the reference is to the same man.

This Herakleides has laid his hands on the mattocks of the plaintiff and swears they are his. The question is whether this Herakleides is the

same as the *sitologos* of the same name. It is possible that the *sitologos* confiscated the mattocks the moment Teos fled, since the latter owed him a debt. If this be so, we are in all instances dealing with a single man, whose title is given only at the first mention (although we realize this solution is merely conjectural). In ll. 6 and 10 the name is not preceded by the article. In l. 4 [τ]ὸν is only *one* of many possible supplements.

αὐτήν τ' ἐμέ: on the use of intensive αὐτός preceding the personal pronoun, cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik* II 1, Berlin — Leipzig 1926, §14.5b (p. 65).

5. ἀπολαβεῖν: we assume that this is a final infinitive (B.G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri*, Athens 1973, §770f.; F. Blass — A. Debrunner — F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, Göttingen 1984⁶, §390). Possibly the Egyptian soldiers wanted to make the plaintiff admit that Herakleides owned the mattocks.

τ' in l. 4 implies that someone else was incarcerated. In the lacuna in l. 5, after καί, we could supplement, *exempli gratia*: NN τὸν παραγόμε]νον παρὰ Τεῶτος. It would be significant that Teos is not present himself, but is represented by someone else. Did he fear that he would be arrested when he returned to his ἴδια, since he had fled (see note on ll. 2-3)?

More than 29 persons named Τεῶς are known from the Zenon archive (cf. *Guide*, p. 426-428). We are unable to identify the Teos mentioned in the present text. We only learn from the present text that he had some dealings with the plaintiff.

ἀνωμολογησάμην: this verb (also in l. 15), «to make a statement», occurs in another Zenon archive text, *PSI* IV 348 l. 8.

6. ἀξιούσης: examples of questions and responses in *enteuxeis* are rare.

] ἀληθῆ προ[: supplement, e.g.,] ἀληθῆ προ[σφωνήσασα].

δίκελλαι: a tool for digging, a two-pronged mattock or hoe («zweizinkige Hacke», F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.; M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* [Münch. Beitr., 17], München 1925, p. 280). It is a hoe, as distinct from an ax (ἄξινη) or shovels (σκαφεῖα), according to M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.*, Madison 1922, p. 97. The connection with digging is clear from the *Vita Aesopi* II 9.1: καὶ πάλιν τὴν δίκελλαν λαβὼν ἤρξατο σκάπτειν. They are often grouped together with

shovels (ἄμαι), and were a typical tool for workers in vineyards. (Cf. *P. Cair. Zen.* IV 59600 ll. 2, 18; V 59851a ll. 6, 8, 10, 13, 16, 21; *P. Col. Zen.* II 90 l. 6; *PSI* VI 629 l. 20).

6-7. παραγεγόμελ[νος], followed by εἰς + place name or πρὸς + personal name. A personal name is therefore a likely supplement here. The use of the article seems to indicate that this person had been mentioned before, or is well known.

7. με[]εο[: probably με [δ]έ ο[or [τ]ε ο[.

]ας: in the context, one expects [ιδ]ί[ας]. However, the trace after the lacuna does not fit a ι very well. A reading] θᾶς (in answer to the question put in l. 6?) is excluded, since the trace after the lacuna does not look like a σ either. A reading [ἐ]μᾶς would be acceptable but is strange in an *oratio obliqua* (we expect αὐτοῦ).

8. ὁ ἀπ[: supply, e.g., ὁ ἀπ[έλαβεν]. A reading προσδόξ[ος] at the end of l. 7 and the beginning of l. 8 is not to be excluded.

αὐτοῦ = ἑαυτοῦ: cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik* I 2, Berlin–Leipzig 1938, p. 65.

] βωμόν: perhaps we should read and supplement: ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως βωμόν (cf. *P. Lond. Zen.* 2007 recto l. 3).

9. ἐνοχλη[ς]: an infinitive or a participle? In view of τε (l. 8), we can be certain that somewhere in the lacuna καί must be supplied.

10.] ἀπέδωκας Ἡρακλείδῃ: we do not know whether a question is asked or a statement made (perhaps by Eukles).

11.] φύλακι: or else a compound.

[μὴ περι]ιδεῖν με ἀδικουμέν[ην]: for the formula and its variants, see A. di Bitonto, p. 50.

11-12. ἄν ἐγγεγύημαι: ἄν + perfect is rare. However, the compound ἀνεγγυάω is to date not yet attested.

13.]ιδην: e.g., supply with Seider: ἐπὶ [τὸ καθῆκον δικαστήριον τὸν Ἡρακλε]ίδην.

κἂν ᾗ ἂ [γράφω ἀληθῆ]: supplemented according to the common formula (see A. di Bitonto, p. 47-48).

13-14.]λον and]δης: these line ends are transcribed by Seider at the end of ll. 3-4. They are written on a loose fragment, so we do not understand why they are placed here in the *editio princeps*. Seider reports that there is 0.9 cm of margin to the left of the letters¹⁰. The only line ends

¹⁰ «Ein kleines Fragment mit zwei Silben (λον Z. 3, δης Z. 4) ergibt eine Breite des rechten Randes von 0.9 cm.» R. SEIDER, *op. cit.* (n. 3 above), p. 76.

not accounted for under the present reconstruction are 13-14, and for this reason we place the fragment here.

14. τῆς διεγγ[υ]: perhaps τῆς διεγγ[υήσεως]. However, διεγγύη-σις does not occur in the Zenon archive. Διεγγύημα occurs only once.

14-15.]δης | ἀνωμολογεῖτ[o: a likely supplement and reading would be: [ὁ (?) Ἡρακλεί]δης | ἀνωμολογεῖτ[o].

15-16. ἵνα ἐπὶ | σὲ, βα[σιλ]εῦ, καταφυγ[ο]ῦ[σα | τύχω τοῦ δικ[αίου]: supplemented according to the common formula. Cf., e.g., *P. Col. Zen.* II 83 ll. 16-17.

16-17. τύχω τοῦ δικ[αίου]: cf. *P. Enteux.* 13 l. 8 (more examples given by A. di Bitonto, p. 52-53). The word order τοῦ δικαίου τύχω is much more common.

TRANSLATION

- 1 To Ptolemy, the King, greetings from NN. I am wronged by Eukles, the one in Philadelphia. For Teos, son of NN, having placed with me — — —
- 2] 5, 12 dr. (bronze). While I was away, he fled — — —
- 3] Herakleides the *sitologos* having sent three *machimoi*
- 4] Herakleides, and they locked both me up, to receive (?) and
- 5] from Teos. I for my part acknowledged that Herakleides has — — —
- 6] when I asked «Are the mattocks yours, as you maintain?» going to — — —
- 7 he said] «the mattocks are mine», and that he had received them having handed over to me for what he took (?)
- 8] to the altar, he swore that the mattocks were his, and that nobody
- 9 trouble [— — —] after 16 days, Eukles,
- 10 the one in Philadelphia having sent [— — —] me wishing [— — —] you gave back to Herakleides. And he gave surety for me because I was
- 11 compelled [— — —] he gave [— — —] to a guard. Eukles, with respect to the mattocks if surety was given for me
- 12 [— — —] I beg you, then, your majesty, do not ignore me being treated unjustly, but order Aphthonetos [the *strategos*
- 13 to summon — — — [— — —] Heraklei[des], and, if what I write be true — — — [
- 14 surety [
- 15 acknowledged [— — — so that] having taken refuge with you, your majesty,
- 16 I may obtain justice. Farewell.

University of Michigan [Ann Arbor]
University of Amsterdam

G. SCHWENDNER
 P.J. SIJPESTEIJN



P. Mich. Inv. 3628

LIBITINA'S BITTER GAINS:
SEASONAL MORTALITY AND ENDEMIC DISEASE
IN THE ANCIENT CITY OF ROME*

Ergo ubi me in montis et in arcem ex urbe removi,
quid prius illustrem satiris Musaue pedestri?
nec mala me ambitio perdit nec plumbeus Auster
autumnusque gravis, Libitinae quaestus acerbae.
(Hor., *Sat.* II 6.16-19)

While the size of the population of imperial Rome can at least be estimated very roughly, its demographic structure remains largely obscure. This is due above all to the lack of quantitative data only too familiar to students of the ancient world. Owing to the bias created by discriminative commemorative practices, epigraphic evidence from the large body of surviving funerary inscriptions does not normally permit one to calculate actual Roman mortality rates¹. Model life tables based on better-known populations are of limited utility in the particular context of large cities which would have experienced singular demographic conditions strongly affected by endemic infectious diseases and the impact of migration². Most evaluations of the demographic regime of ancient Rome are therefore necessarily confined to vague and unsubstantiated generalisations of an impressionist kind.

There is, however, an exception to this rule of ignorance: ancient documentation does allow a fairly accurate reconstruction of seasonal mortality in the late antique city of Rome. This mortality pattern can be linked with literary and comparative evidence about certain endemic diseases in order to elucidate some basic demographic conditions governing the lives of the inhabitants of the largest city of pre-modern Europe.

* I am indebted to Richard Duncan-Jones, Bruce Frier, Peter Garnsey and Robert Sallares for comments on earlier drafts of this paper. Needless to say, none of them should be held responsible for any remaining idiosyncracies and shortcomings.

¹ The fullest discussion of the epigraphical evidence is provided by M. CLAUSS, *Probleme der Lebensalterstatistik aufgrund römischer Grabinschriften*, *Chiron* 3 (1973), p. 395-417; cf. now also T.G. PARKIN, *Demography and Roman Society*, Baltimore-London 1992, p. 5-19.

² A tentative model life table for the Roman empire was set up by B.W. FRIER, *Roman Life Expectancy: Ulpian's Evidence*, *HSCPh* 86 (1982), p. 213-251; cf. R. DUNCAN-JONES, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy*, Cambridge 1990, p. 96-101.

I

So far more than 25,000 late antique Christian inscriptions from Rome and its immediate environment have been published, mainly recovered from the vast catacombs clustering along the arterial roads outside the gates. The bulk of these inscriptions consists of funerary commemorations. In contrast with their pagan predecessors, the early Christians were anxious to record the precise days of death and/or burial of the deceased since the moment of death was considered the beginning of real life in eternity³. Thanks to this novel practice, we can trace the seasonal pattern of mortality by grouping the relevant dates according to months. A collection of 2,125 individual dates of death or burial from Rome's Christian inscriptions of the third to the sixth century shows a conspicuous peak of mortality during late summer and early fall (fig. 1)⁴. Given the considerable size of this sample and the internal consistency of the pattern, this cannot possibly be mere chance. Moreover, it is interesting to note that smaller test samples drawn from the same corpus of evidence exactly reproduce this particular mortality pattern. Fig. 2 is based on the data provided by 568 *dated* inscriptions, ranging from A.D. 217 to 589, drawn from De Rossi's corpus of dated Christian inscriptions⁵. Fig. 3 represents the material of three of Rome's largest catacombs, the *coemeterium Domitillae*, the *c. Praetextati* and the *c. Callisti*, which provide 886 dates⁶.

In order to emphasize the extent of the seasonal variations I have calculated the percentage of deaths in each of the four quarters of the year (figs. 4-6). The most revealing pattern, however, emerges when the year is divided into three parts of four months each, starting in March (figs. 7-9). This splits the year into a pre-peak season, a peak season and a post-peak season. I tabulate below the respective percentages of all deaths.

³ For the very short interval between the dates of death and burial, see H. NORDBERG, *Biometrical Notes. The Information on Ancient Christian Inscriptions from Rome Concerning the Duration of Life and the Dates of Birth and Death*, Helsinki 1963, p. 52-54, cf. 61.

⁴ Source: H. NORDBERG, *op. cit.*, p. 55-57 tab. 12a-c. This sample comprises 949 men, 927 women and 249 persons of unknown gender.

⁵ Source: *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores* I (ed. G.B. DE ROSSI, Rome 1857-1861).

⁶ Source: *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores, nova series* III (ed. A. SILVAGNI – A. FERRUA, Rome 1956), nos. 6496-8638; IV (ed. A. FERRUA, Rome 1964), nos. 9367-11744; V (ed. A. FERRUA, Rome 1971), nos. 13871-15267.

Tab. 1 SEASONAL DISTRIBUTION OF DEATHS (IN PERCENT)

<i>Months:</i>	<i>3-6</i>	<i>7-10</i>	<i>11-2</i>
Nordberg Sample (n=2125)	26,2	46,4	27,4
De Rossi Sample (n=568)	25,6	47,1	27,3
3 Catacombs Sample (n=886)	25,8	46,9	27,3

In the Nordberg Sample, the average percentage of deaths in the first and the third seasons taken together is 26,8 percent, against 46,4 percent in the peak season. Thus the average death rate during the period from July to October was about 73 percent higher than during the remainder of the year⁷. Although comparable quantitative data from earlier centuries are lacking, impressionist evidence such as the lines by Horace quoted at the beginning of this paper leaves little doubt that similar conditions must have prevailed under the late Republic and the Principate⁸.

II

To the present day, the underlying causes of this mortality pattern have never been subject to scholarly inquiry⁹. Much to his disadvantage, Josiah Russell did not exploit Nordberg's collection of data for his assessment of the causes of death in late antiquity¹⁰. Tim Parkin, in his recent useful introduction to the demographic aspects of Roman history, has nothing to say about seasonal mortality¹¹. As the death rate in the city of Rome in 1954 was fairly balanced and showed but a slight rise of mortality in *winter*¹², there can be no doubt that specific

⁷ Because infant deaths, which may follow a particular pattern created by the uneven distribution of births over the year, are almost completely absent from these samples (see below), it can justifiably be assumed that they provide an idea, however rough, of the actual pattern of seasonal mortality (above age one).

⁸ For additional references, see n. 34 below.

⁹ Nordberg, after laboriously tabulating his findings, contented himself with the cautious remark, «It is perhaps not too bold to assume that infectious diseases accounted for a higher proportion of the death-rate in ancient Rome than in Rome today» (*op. cit.* [n. 3], p. 58f.). Cf. the brief allusions by R.P. DUNCAN-JONES, *Demographic Change and Economic Progress under the Roman Empire*, in *Tecnologia, economia e società nel mondo romano. Atti del convegno di Como 27-29 settembre 1979*, Como 1980, p. 78 n. 52; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 104 n. 31. Contributors to the history of epidemiology and medicine have never made use of this material either.

¹⁰ J.C. RUSSELL, *The Control of Late Ancient and Medieval Population*, Philadelphia 1985.

¹¹ T.G. PARKIN, *op. cit.* (n. 1).

¹² H. NORDBERG, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 58.

circumstances producing a completely dissimilar pattern must have prevailed in antiquity. In view of the sanitary and hygienic conditions in the ancient city of Rome there would have been several infectious diseases which were likely to recur during the hottest time of each year¹³.

Since a broad array of factors may hence have contributed to the peak of mortality in late summer and early fall, a more detailed evaluation seems worthwhile. It should be noted in this connection that in fifteenth-century Florence in ordinary years (that is, years free of plague), mortality followed a remarkably even pattern with only a minor peak in August (fig. 10)¹⁴. The Christian funerary inscriptions from late antique Carthage do not indicate any rise of mortality in summer or fall: 34 percent of the recorded deaths occurred in the period from March to June, 32,3 percent from July to October and 33,7 percent from November to February. Although this pattern could in part be a function of the small size of this particular set of data (n=150) that may obscure the actual proportions, it seems highly unlikely that even a sample from Carthage fifteen times this size would have revealed approximately the same distribution of deaths evinced by the samples from the city of Rome¹⁵. This may serve as a warning against considering excessive seasonal mortality an universal feature of larger pre-industrial cities that could make specific case-studies appear less promising.

Yet, as comparative material shows, pre-industrial populations often experienced a marked rise of mortality at the end of summer and the beginning of fall, especially in urban environments¹⁶. It has to be noted, however, that similar patterns of seasonal mortality need not be produced by the same causes. The seasonal distribution of deaths in Christ Church Priory in fifteenth-century Canterbury provides a fine example. At first sight, the concentration of deaths in late summer and early fall

¹³ A. SCOBIE, *Slums, Sanitation, and Mortality in the Roman World*, *Klio* 68 (1986), p. 399-433, provides a lucid survey of living conditions in ancient Rome.

¹⁴ Based on D. HERLIHY – C. KLAPISCH-ZUBER, *Les Toscans et leurs familles*, Paris 1978, p. 192.

¹⁵ L. ENNABLI (ed.), *Les inscriptions funéraires chrétiennes de la Basilique dite de Sainte-Monique à Carthage*, Paris 1975; *Les inscriptions funéraires chrétiennes de Carthage II: La Basilique de Mcidfa*, Rome 1982; *Les inscriptions funéraires chrétiennes de Carthage III: Carthage intra et extra muros*, Rome 1991.

¹⁶ Cf. A. BIDEAU – J. DUPAQUIER – H. GUTIERREZ, *La mort quantifiée*, in *Histoire de la population française*, 2 – *De la Renaissance à 1789*, Paris 1988, p. 240 fig. 79 (cities), in contrast with national mortality patterns showing elevated mortality in winter (*ibid.*).

closely resembles the pattern of mortality in late antique Rome (figs. 11-12)¹⁷. A survey of the documented causes of deaths (which were recorded only for a small fraction of all deaths) shows that tuberculosis was the most important of the lethal diseases which the medieval monks were able to identify properly (13 cases, i.e. 31 percent of all known causes of death), followed by 'sweaty sickness' (9 cases or 21 percent), and plague (8 cases or 19 percent)¹⁸. In his recent analysis of these data, John Hatcher estimated that at least 16 percent, and perhaps even twice as many, of all deaths that occurred in Christ Church Priory between 1413 and 1507 can be attributed to plague¹⁹. Most of these deaths would occur in late summer and early fall. In 1457, for instance, 16 monks died of plague between July 15 and September 25²⁰. Thus, a large portion of the summer excess mortality must be interpreted as a consequence of recurrent outbreaks of endemic plague, a disease that by increasingly becoming an urban phenomenon in the late Middle Ages markedly transformed the pattern of seasonal mortality of the affected populations²¹. Without plague deaths, the summer excess mortality of the Canterbury sample would have been much lower or might even have disappeared altogether. Due attention has therefore to be given to the question of which causes out of a variety of conceivable factors were, in a particular environment, responsible for substantial late-summer/early fall excess mortality. The absence of plague in ancient Rome clearly implies that different agents of mortality must have prevailed there. This in turn limits the number of valid cases for comparison.

Notwithstanding substantial differences of population size and possible changes of the epidemiological landscape that may have taken place since the end of the Roman period, a brief survey of the conditions in some urban settlements of pre-modern Italy can help to put the data from late antiquity into perspective. A mortality pattern very similar to that of late antique Rome is documented for the town of Terlizzi in Apulia during the eighteenth century (figs. 13-16)²². The peak of mortality in August, September and October has been attributed to pulmonary and intestinal infec-

¹⁷ Based on H. HATCHER, *Mortality in the Fifteenth Century: Some New Evidence*, *Economic History Review* 39 (1986), p. 19-38, at p. 26 tab. 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30 tab. 3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36. For the re-shaping of the mortality pattern by plague, see briefly H. HATCHER, *Plague, Population and the English Economy 1348-1530*, London — Basingstoke 1977, p. 25f.

tions²³. The effects of these diseases were probably aggravated by a considerable rate of malarial infection. Similar patterns are recorded in other parts of Italy as well. In Ravenna at the end of the seventeenth century, for instance, «febbre» and «febbre maligna» constituted almost all *recorded* causes of death among adults. The corresponding peak of mortality in October was due above all to typhoid and malaria, as well as to a broad array of intestinal infections that flourished in the autumn²⁴. A comparable increase of mortality in August and September is documented for Camerino in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries (fig. 17)²⁵.

This material underlines the importance during the past few centuries of diseases such as tuberculosis, typhoid and other intestinal infections, and possibly also malaria. Even more importantly, it is exactly typhoid, tuberculosis and malaria that have been called the three great 'killers' of the ancient Mediterranean²⁶. Typhoid fevers, transmitted through *salmonella typhi*, exhibit a critical phase of about three weeks when untreated²⁷; their fatality rate may be as high as 10-15 percent, and even higher in the age-group of 15-30 years²⁸. Tuberculosis is a disease that results from the inflammatory reaction of organic tissue, above all pulmonary tissue, to infection with a specific microbe, *Mycobacterium tuberculosis*. The most familiar symptoms of this disease include the wasting away of the whole body, continuous fever, fatigue, cough, and blood-spitting²⁹. The deadly

²² Based on A.F. CARDAMONE, *La dinamica demografica di Terlizzi nel XVIII secolo*, in *La popolazione italiana nel Settecento. Relazioni e comunicazioni presentate al Convegno su: "La ripresa demografica del Settecento"*, Bologna, 26-28 aprile 1979, Bologna 1980, p. 335-351, at p. 347 tab. 7.

²³ Thus *ibid.*, p. 346.

²⁴ D. BOLOGNESI, *Demografia ed economia del Ravennate nel Settecento*, in *La popolazione italiana nel Settecento* (n. 22), p. 263-283, at p. 271.

²⁵ Based on O. BUSSINI, *L'evoluzione demografica della città di Camerino nei secoli XVIII e XIX*, in *La demografia storica delle città italiane. Relazioni e comunicazioni presentate al Convegno tenuto ad Assisi nei giorni 27-29 ottobre 1980*, Bologna 1982, p. 263-282, at p. 281 tab. 13.

²⁶ M.D. GRMEK, *Diseases in the Ancient Greek World*, Baltimore-London 1989, p. 89. Cf. J.-N. BIRABEN, *L'hygiène, la maladie, la mort*, in *Histoire de la population française, 1 – Des origines à la Renaissance*, Paris 1988, p. 438-440.

²⁷ M.D. GRMEK, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 349f.; for a choice of cases from the ancient medical sources, cf. p. 346-350.

²⁸ J.-N. BIRABEN, *art. cit.* (n. 26), p. 438.

²⁹ M.D. GRMEK, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 177f. On tuberculosis in antiquity, see *ibid.*, p. 177-197; J.C. RUSSELL, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 93-110; R. SALLARES, *The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World*, London 1991, p. 236-239. The most ample documentation is said to be provided by the inaccessible study of J. JEDLIČKA, *Vyvoj fthiseologie, nauky o tuberkulose*, Prague 1932 (in Czech), cited by Grmek.

impact of tuberculosis, especially on urban populations and the lower strata of society, are all too well known from the past few centuries³⁰. (In fact, modern science may well have to stave off another upsurge of new mutant varieties of this disease in the near future.) Greek medical writers used to regard tuberculosis (known as *phthisis*) as normally resulting in death³¹. The ancient evidence also refers to seasonal exacerbations of tuberculosis, especially in the summer and the autumn when various kinds of fevers caused by different infections raised the rates of both morbidity and mortality³². Although tuberculosis is a disease with social selectivity that strikes above all at people between age 18 and 35, at pregnant women, and at the poor in general, it does not seem possible to document this epidemiological bias for antiquity. Any attempt to measure the extent of tuberculosis-induced mortality by means of epigraphic evidence must needs rest on exceedingly shaky foundations and does not warrant quantitative conclusions about the relative importance of this disease³³. Even so, it is highly likely that both typhoid and tuberculosis, in conjunction with other infections that produced fevers, were responsible for a large proportion of Rome's seasonal excess mortality. The probable share of the third 'killer', malaria, in this mortality rate, however, seems hard to determine and thus calls for a more extended discussion.

The existence of various kinds of malaria in the city of Rome throughout antiquity is a well-established fact. The relevant evidence, so far exclusively derived from literary sources, was already collected and discussed by W.H.S. Jones and Angelo Celli in their pioneering studies of malaria history and more recently re-analysed by Peter A. Brunt³⁴. For my purposes there is no need to reproduce their expositions

³⁰ Cf. R. SALLARES, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 237, on changes of the overall mortality pattern effected by high tuberculosis-induced mortality.

³¹ Cf. M.D. GRMEK, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 185f.

³² See *ibid.*, p. 189f. (and cf. 191f.); R. SALLARES, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 467 n. 381 (with reference to Hippocrates *aphorismoi* III 21f. ed. Littré; cf. n. 60 below). On tuberculosis in ancient Rome, see M.D. GRMEK, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 193f.

³³ *Contra* J.C. RUSSELL, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 93-110, who based his account entirely on age-class specific mortality rates as displayed by the Roman funerary inscriptions which, in this respect, cannot *eo ipso* be seen as reflecting actual mortality patterns: see n. 1 above. Cf., however, R. SALLARES, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 237. For the same reason, Russell's table 3 on p. 25 is useless for estimating actual mortality.

³⁴ W.H.S. JONES, *Malaria. A Neglected Factor in the History of Greece and Rome*, Cambridge 1907, p. 69-73 (Rome), cf. p. 73-76 (Italy); A. CELLI, *The History of Malaria in the Roman Campagna from Ancient Times*, London 1933, p. 19-47, esp. p. 29-31, 42-47 (Rome and Campagna); P.A. BRUNT, *Italian Manpower 225 B.C.-A.D. 14*, Oxford 1971 (= 1987), p. 611-624.

of the evidence. Suffice it to note that the hot season was considered the most unsafe and that the advice to leave the city during the summer reminds one of reports from other malaria-ridden cities, such as late medieval Pisa³⁵. Crucial significance must be accorded to some descriptions by Galen which allow the conclusion that *Plasmodium falciparum*, the most dangerous and often lethal species of malaria, was common in Rome at his time³⁶. Although this explicit evidence for *Plasmodium falciparum* is restricted to the second century A.D., it is to be assumed that the disease's «demographic characteristics in respect of density-dependence permitted it to remain endemic permanently in Rome»³⁷.

Malaria is a disease caused by the presence in the red blood corpuscles, or in the liver cells, of a unicellular parasite — a protozoon — belonging to the genus *Plasmodium*. It is contracted by human beings through the inoculation of the saliva of a female mosquito containing infective forms (sporozoites) of the malaria parasite. After growing and multiplying in the liver cells, the parasites invade the erythrocytes and cause relapses, characterised by periodic paroxysms of chills and fever, and accompanied by anaemia, spleen enlargement and often more severe complications, such as blackwater fever³⁸. The characteristics of *Plasmodium falciparum*, also defined as malignant tertian or subtertian malaria, make it a likely cause of death for many Romans. After an incubation period of 6 to 25 days, high fever recurs every 48 hours but might last up to 40 hours; the first infection can be followed by death, particularly in the primary attack³⁹. If untreated, its fatality rate can be as

³⁵ W.H.S. JONES, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 71; D. HERLIHY, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance*, New Haven 1958, p. 51.

³⁶ Galen VII 435 ed. Kühn. Cf. W.H.S. JONES, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 30f., 70, 81; L.J. BRUCE-CHWATT – J. DE ZULUETA, *The Rise and Fall of Malaria in Europe. A Historico-epidemiological Study*, Oxford 1980, p. 22.

³⁷ R. SALLARES, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 278. It may be noted in passing that the habit of the Roman upper class to set up pools (*impluvia*) in the open inner courts of their town-houses involuntarily provided the mosquitoes with first-rate breeding grounds. Comparative evidence from India demonstrates that this would have greatly affected the inhabitants of such buildings: see V. REYNOLDS – R.E.S. TANNER, *The Biology of Religion*, London–New York 1983, p. 19.

³⁸ Standard accounts of malaria include G. MACDONALD, *The Epidemiology and Control of Malaria*, Oxford 1957; E. PAMPANA, *A Textbook of Malaria Eradication*, Oxford 1963; L.J. BRUCE-CHWATT, *Essential Malariology*, London 1980, esp. p. 1-168. On the epidemiological features of malaria in classical antiquity, see M.D. GRMEK, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 275-283; R. SALLARES, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 271-281, both with rich references to ancient sources and modern literature.

³⁹ E. PAMPANA, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 14-16, 19.

high as 25 percent⁴⁰. Due to climatic conditions, unlike in the tropics malaria cannot be holoendemic, i.e. permanently active, in the Mediterranean since the parasites need a minimum temperature of between 15°C and 19°C to become infectious through achieving sporogeny in hematophagous mosquitoes⁴¹. For this reason both the transmission season and the ensuing malaria season (i.e. the period of attacks) were mainly limited to the warmer parts of the year. As the transmission season, while sometimes starting as early as March or April, covers above all the period from July to October, *Plasmodium falciparum* — deservedly known as «febbre estivo-autunnale» — usually reaches its peak of activity in late summer and early fall⁴². This corresponds exactly with the mortality pattern as evidenced by the Christian funerary inscriptions set out above. Other species of malaria will not have resulted in a comparable number of deaths: *Plasmodium vivax*, or benign tertian malaria, which needs just 15°C to become infectious but frequently shows a protracted incubation period, is lethal only when it appears as an epidemic; *Plasmodium malariae*, or benign quartan malaria, is still less dangerous and rarely proves fatal. *Plasmodium ovale*, the tropical variety of benign tertian malaria, does not occur in the Mediterranean.

The correlation between the characteristics of *Plasmodium falciparum* and the mortality pattern derived from the Christian funerary inscriptions may seem to establish the function of this kind of evidence as an indirect indicator of the possible importance of malaria in the city of Rome. Even so, several problems of interpretation have to be considered. Most importantly, we cannot know for sure in what way and what proportion of Rome's seasonal excess mortality is to be ascribed to the effects of malaria. Rather than assuming a high malarial mortality rate, we have to allow for a large number of deaths caused by diseases which were rendered lethal only through a previous or simultaneous weakening of the body through malaria attacks. This is not the place for an extensive discussion of the characteristics of all relevant diseases: suffice it to note that any vector affected by low temperature could have been prevalent in

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19 (an epidemic rate; for the difference between endemic seasonal mortality and epidemic mortality rates cf. p. 86).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 47; M.D. GRMEK, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 278; R. SALLARES, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 272.

⁴² B. GRASSI, *Die Malaria. Studien eines Zoologen*, Jena 1901², p. 135; H. ROTTER, *Die Malaria im Latium während und nach dem Weltkrieg 1939-1945 mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Provinz Frosinone*, Zurich 1948, p. 27; E. PAMPANA, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 48.

the summer months. Enterovirus diseases, for instance, including polio and hepatitis A, are common at this time. Especially in the warm season, diseases and parasitic infections ultimately brought about by the improper disposal of wastes — arguably a common feature of Roman everyday life — could occur concurrently with other types of diseases, such as malaria⁴³. Malaria infection undermines the body's natural defence mechanisms against other diseases, such as food poisoning by salmonella⁴⁴. Typhoid is a disease that will have been rampant at this time of the year, often with lethal consequences. Seasonal exacerbations of tuberculosis could also have coincided with high rates of malarial infections (cf. above).

In general, we need to distinguish between malaria as a clinical cause of death, where the victim dies of this disease once contracted, and malaria as a contributing cause of death. While the strains of malaria found in the pre-modern Mediterranean will above all have weakened the affected population, and thus resulted in their being susceptible to other causes of death, they may not have been directly responsible for a large proportion of all deaths, especially among adults. Given that our data by and large throw no light on infant mortality (see below), the main function of malaria within the population represented on the extant funerary inscriptions will in the first instance have been that of a factor contributing to the lethal outcome of other diseases. Hence I would suggest that it was this aggravating effect of widespread malaria infection on other diseases that helped to raise Rome's seasonal excess mortality to the striking level documented by the epigraphical evidence.

To judge from the Nordberg Sample, Rome's seasonal excess mortality from July through October equalled almost 20 percent of all annual deaths. Unfortunately, it is not easy to relate this figure to the crude death rate (i.e. the annual number of deaths per one thousand people in a given population). If we accept Bruce Frier's estimate of a crude death rate of 47.4 per thousand (if only for want of a more reliable figure)⁴⁵, about 9 to 10 deaths per thousand must have been due to some peculiar causes of death which were confined to late summer and early fall. Although a crude death rate of this magnitude would have been alarm-

⁴³ A. SCOBIE, *art. cit.* (n. 13), p. 422.

⁴⁴ R. SALLARES, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 273.

⁴⁵ B.W. FRIER, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 247 (based on his life table for the Roman empire).

ingly high for a stationary population⁴⁶, in this case it represents only a minimum figure. Frier's life table rests on the assumption of a stationary population which is not to be expected in an ancient mega-city (cf. III below). Since it remains more than doubtful that life-table rates could stand up under conditions of extremely high endemicity of certain infectious diseases, one might well add at least part of Rome's seasonal excess mortality to the projected general annual death rate, which could raise the latter to anywhere up to perhaps 60 per thousand.

Because of the broad array of other factors which have to be reckoned with, the very size of Rome's seasonal excess mortality would make it seem highly unlikely that malaria and its aggravating effects on other diseases could have been responsible for a large proportion of these additional deaths. This is indicated above all by comparative evidence of malarial death rates. In the most infested parts of Italy around 1887/89, somewhat more than one death per thousand was due to malaria⁴⁷. Some other figures are of only little comparative value. In the tropics, holoen-
demic malaria results in higher death rates: the highest number given is 10-15 deaths per thousand, while more conservative estimates arrive at lower rates⁴⁸. The high death rates during epidemics cannot be transferred to areas of high endemicity⁴⁹: a malaria epidemic in Sweden in 1751, for instance, thus accounted for 12,9 percent of all deaths among adults in one region during that year⁵⁰. In general, it is difficult to find

⁴⁶ T.G. PARKIN, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 78, 84. Cf. Coale & Demeny's rates for Model South Female: Level 1 ($e^{\circ}=20$) gives a crude death rate (CDR) of 50,00, Level 2 ($e^{\circ}=22,5$) has a CDR of 44,44 and Level 3 ($e^{\circ}=25$) has a CDR of 40,00 per thousand (A.J. COALE – P.G. DEMENY – B. VAUGHAN, *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations*, New York 1983²). A 'stable' population is defined by the unchanging shape of its age distribution, i.e. constant growth rates. The 'stationary' population is a special case of a stable population whose intrinsic growth rate is zero.

⁴⁷ P.A. BRUNT, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 612. Mostly *Plasmodium falciparum*: E. MARCHIAFAVA – A. BIGNAMI, *Sulle febbri malariche estivo-autunnali*, Turin–Rome–Florence 1892, p. 86. Cf. L.J. BRUCE-CHWATT – J. DE ZULUETA, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 98, for Italy in 1946.

⁴⁸ F.B. LIVINGSTONE, *Malaria and Human Polymorphisms*, *Annual Review of Genetics* 5 (1971), p. 33-64, referred to by H.O. LANCASTER, *Expectations of Life. A Study in the Demography, Statistics, and History of World Mortality*, New York 1990, p. 169. Cf. P.A. BRUNT, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 612.

⁴⁹ Cf. E. PAMPANA, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 86; L.J. BRUCE-CHWATT, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 135.

⁵⁰ A.E. IMHOF, *Aspekte der Bevölkerungsentwicklung in den nordischen Ländern 1720-1750*, Bern 1976, p. 547 tab. 125. During malaria epidemics in Ceylon in 1934/35 and in the Punjab in 1908, the malaria-specific crude death rate rose to 14 per thousand and 18 per thousand, respectively: E. PAMPANA, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 19. Cf. H.O. LANCASTER, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 169, for a trebling of deaths in the Punjab during a malaria epidemic (1898).

reliable death rates for areas of high *seasonal endemicity* prior to the end of the nineteenth century when the early signs of an hygienic revolution might already have begun to change traditional conditions even in underdeveloped parts of the Mediterranean. The probable order of magnitude of the malaria-induced death-rates in an environment such as ancient Rome is therefore hard to establish.

Concerning that city, it may be justified to expect hyperendemic malaria, which means an infection of more than 50 percent of all children at the age of 2-9 combined with a large number of cases among adults⁵¹. Even though precise information on the degree of endemicity can only rest on quantitative and statistical concepts⁵², which are obviously not available here, this assumption is to a certain extent supported by documented degrees of endemicity in modern Greece and southern Italy. In some communities of the Mezzogiorno in 1887/88, about one death out of every fifteen was brought about by malaria⁵³. In Greece in 1921-1932, this disease was held responsible for a comparable percentage of deaths (5,6 percent)⁵⁴. Conditions in tropical regions can furnish but limited illustration: in parts of Ceylon the eradication of malaria reduced the crude death rate by 2,3 per thousand⁵⁵. A more extreme example is provided by the island of Mauritius, where the crude death rate fell by 9,4 per thousand between 1946 and 1947 because of malaria eradication and concomitant improvements in health services⁵⁶.

Still, the conceivable share of malaria and especially its synergistic action with other factors in effecting Rome's excess mortality should not be lightly dismissed. Both the lack of appropriate treatment and the low degree of immunization which must have prevailed in a significant part of the metropolitan population could have resulted in unusually high malaria-induced death rates. Adult immigrants who had not been born in a region where *Plasmodium falciparum* was endemic were extremely vulnerable to the dangers of malaria infection. Considering the volume of immigration into the city of Rome of both free people

⁵¹ For this classification, see e.g. E. PAMPANA, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 78 tab. 10.

⁵² G. MACDONALD, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 80; L.J. BRUCE-CHWATT, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 135.

⁵³ F. BONELLI, *Pour l'histoire de la mortalité en Europe: la malaria en Italie*, in *Actes du Colloque Internationale de Démographie Historique, Liège, 18-20 avril 1963*, Liège 1965, tab. 2.

⁵⁴ H.O. LANCASTER, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 170f.

⁵⁵ R.H. GRAY, *The Decline of Mortality in Ceylon and the Demographic Effects of Malaria Control*, *Population Studies* 28 (1974), p. 223, 226.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 227 n. 72.

and slaves, malaria must have represented a lethal hazard for many of its inhabitants⁵⁷. This must have applied in particular to the times of the late Republic and the Principate the patterns of seasonal mortality of which cannot be documented by the funeral inscriptions but might have shown an even more marked rise of mortality in late summer and early fall. What is more, it is particularly difficult to become resistant to *Plasmodium falciparum* since at any one time acquired immunity will be specific towards only one of its various strains⁵⁸. Superinfection with different species of malaria or with different strains of the same species would have counterbalanced the effects of previous immunization⁵⁹.

The gross underrepresentation of infants in the Nordberg Sample poses another problem. Due to biased practices of commemoration (and burial?), only 3 percent of all Christian funerary inscriptions of late antique Rome pertain to children who died during their first year of life⁶⁰. To judge from the little we can presume regarding ancient populations, the actual percentage should have been at least ten times that number⁶¹. If infants had been more endangered by malaria than other age-groups their virtual omission from the epigraphic documentation would have distorted the shape of the mortality pattern. A higher malarial death rate among infants would thus mean that the actual excess mortality during the second third of the year might have been well above 73 percent, perhaps up to 80, 90, or even 100 percent⁶². As it is, because of the seasonal character of Mediterranean malaria, adults are on the whole

⁵⁷ Rightly stressed by R. SALLARES, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 278.

⁵⁸ E. PAMPANA, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 56f.

⁵⁹ R.H. GRAY, *art. cit.* (n. 55), p. 221. On the problem of malaria immunization, cf. in general E. PAMPANA, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 54-66; J.L. ARON – R.M. MAY, *The Population Dynamics of Malaria*, in R.M. ANDERSON (ed.), *The Population Dynamics of Infectious Diseases: Theory and Applications*, London–New York 1982, p. 164-178, esp. p. 166. Hippocrates' references (*aphorismoi* III 21f. ed. Littré) to continuous fevers and tertian fevers in the summer, and to quartan fevers and irregular fevers in the fall, may well be taken as indications of multiple malarial infections or a combination of malarial and other infections at this time of the year.

⁶⁰ H. NORDBERG, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 47f. tab. 11a.

⁶¹ Cf. B.W. FRIER, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 245; T.G. PARKIN, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 83, 93; W. SCHEIDEL, *Columellas privatae ius liberorum: Literatur, Recht, Demographie. Einige Probleme*, *Latomus* 53 (1994), p. 522-524.

⁶² By concealing infant mortality, the inscriptions at most ensample only 70 percent of all deaths. Note, however, that almost 60 percent of all infant deaths would have had to occur during the peak-season to raise this period's overall excess mortality to 100 percent. This would seem rather implausible.

more strongly affected than infants in comparison to the situation in areas of holoendemic malaria⁶³. This does not, however, preclude elevated infant morbidity and mortality during the malaria season. In addition, the infection of mothers will have caused troubles for their offspring as well, resulting in abortions, stillbirths and the undernourishment of the newborn child⁶⁴. Hence the threat of malaria for infants and small children in the ancient Mediterranean must not be underestimated⁶⁵.

It is nonetheless unlikely that, given high infant mortality rates occasioned by a large variety of different infections⁶⁶, malaria would have significantly altered the pattern of Roman infant mortality. A survey of seasonal mortality among infants in 19 regions of Italy in 1951/53 demonstrates that in the southern parts of the peninsula even then, a noticeable impact of malaria being excluded, most infant deaths took place during the summer months⁶⁷. Comparative data from earlier periods confirm this pattern⁶⁸. This should lead us to the conclusion that reliable evidence of Roman infant mortality, even if we had it, would not enable us to establish the extent of malaria-induced mortality in this age-group. Likewise, a substantial degree of age-rounding⁶⁹, commemorative biases and the fragmentary state of preservation of many of the relevant inscriptions forestall the analysis of age-specific mortality of any other age-groups. For the same reason, it is not possible to set the seasonal mortality rates for infants and young children

⁶³ R. SALLARES, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 273. In areas of holoendemicity, i.e. the tropics, infant mortality may double (H.O. LANCASTER, *op. cit.* [n. 48], p. 169).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 169f.; R. SALLARES, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 273.

⁶⁵ F. BONELLI, *art. cit.* (n. 53), p. 439. Cf. e.g., D. BOLOGNESI, *art. cit.* (n. 24), p. 276. For clinical cases, cf. A. ECKSTEIN, *Malaria im Kindesalter*, Basle–New York 1946, esp. p. 20, 41–44.

⁶⁶ See now P. GARNSEY, *Child Rearing in Ancient Italy*, in D.I. KERTZER – R.P. SALLER (eds.), *The Family in Italy from Antiquity to the Present*, New Haven–London 1991, p. 48–65.

⁶⁷ Italy: L. HENRY, *La mortalité des jeunes enfants dans les pays méditerranéens*, *Population* 12 (1957), p. 624f. fig. 2.

⁶⁸ A. BELLETTINI – A. SAMOGGIA, *Evolution différentielle et mouvement saisonnier de la mortalité infantile et enfantine dans la banlieue de Bologna (XVII^e – XIX^e siècles)*, *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1983), p. 203 fig. 3, show that in eighteenth-century Bologna, infants and children in the age-group from one month to four years died mainly in summer. Cf. A. BIDEAU – J. DUPAQUIER – H. GUTIERREZ, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 242f., for elevated infant mortality in Mediterranean France in August and September.

⁶⁹ According to H. NORDBERG, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 29, 596 out of a total of 1283 recorded ages end in 5 or 0.

directly against those for older children and adults, which procedure alone would enable us to gauge the role of malaria as a *clinical* cause of death.

III

So what do we gain by studying this body of evidence? In one of his contributions to the history of ancient malaria, W.H.S. Jones expressed his hope that «some readers will be encouraged to search for fresh evidence, and to publish their conclusions»⁷⁰. To the best of my knowledge, epigraphic material has never been used in appraisals of seasonal mortality and the impact of infectious diseases in antiquity. If we accept the mortality pattern reconstructed from the Christian funerary inscriptions as a probable if rough index of the extent to which certain infections contributed to the overall death toll, our vision will be extended beyond the limits of the literary sources.

Moreover, these samples might also shed light on some broader issues of Roman history. Given an urban population maximum in the imperial city of Rome in the range of 800,000 to 1,000,000 people, several thousand deaths per annum would have been caused or expedited by tuberculosis, typhoid, and also malaria. One might wonder whether this excess mortality is sufficiently taken into account in general projections of Roman mortality. Comparative evidence from modern Africa clearly underlines the adverse effects of high malaria rates on mortality and life expectancy⁷¹. The same holds good for tuberculosis⁷². Endemic disease on a large scale may thus have influenced the structure of mortality and reproduction in a way alien to our standardized life tables⁷³. Yet, since Frier's life table anyhow posits a very low expectation of life at birth ($e^0=21,107$) and a high rate of infant mortality (35,82 percent), heavy seasonal mortality triggered by infections may well be accommodated within this model. Presupposing that the ancient Mediterranean was one of those areas where infants had a disproportionately high share in those killed by malaria (as a clinical cause

⁷⁰ W.H.S. JONES, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. VI.

⁷¹ S.H. PRESTON, *Mortality Patterns in National Populations with Special Reference to Recorded Causes of Death*, New York–San Francisco–London 1976, p. 116–118; H.O. LANCASTER, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 165–178. Cf. N.T.J. BAILEY, *The Biomathematics of Malaria*, London–High Wycombe 1982.

⁷² R. SALLARES, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 237.

⁷³ Cf. A.J. COALE – P.G. DENEMY – B. VAUGHAN, *op. cit.* (n. 46), p. 11f.

of death)⁷⁴, this factor could even be seen as lending support to Frier's reconstruction of Roman infant mortality against recent criticism that considers his figure somewhat too extreme⁷⁵. Nevertheless, it will be clear that Frier's (or any other) life table cannot be applied directly to a metropolitan population such as that of imperial Rome. Because of the epidemic diseases that ravaged Rome from time to time, and because of the interannual variations of the impact of endemic diseases such as malaria⁷⁶, in this case any model based on the concept of a 'stable' population cannot be more than a heuristic device which, to be sure, was not specifically designed for this particular population. This, however, does not detract from its illustrative value for the Roman people as a whole.

For centuries, the capital of the Roman empire must have been a super-'consumer city' in demographic as well as economic terms: a constant influx of immigrants would have been necessary to compensate for the effects of tuberculosis, hyperendemic malaria and other infectious diseases and thereby to maintain artificially high population levels⁷⁷. It should be remembered that at the same time these very immigrants would disproportionately often have fallen prey to such infections. It goes without saying that a quantification of Rome's net excess mortality is beyond our reach. But considering the large size of this city's population, even a minor discrepancy between the crude birth rate and the crude death rate would have necessitated considerable immigration. The last of the three factors in the basic demographic equation of natural population growth — live births minus deaths plus net migration — accordingly deserves much more attention than it has previously received, notwithstanding the apparently forbidding deficiencies of the available evidence⁷⁸. As a further consequence, tuberculosis, malaria and

⁷⁴ E. g., N. KEYFITZ, *Applied Mathematical Demography*, New York–Berlin–Heidelberg–Tokyo 1985², p. 158f.

⁷⁵ T.G. PARKIN, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 83f.

⁷⁶ F. BONELLI, *art. cit.* (n. 53), p. 433; J.L. ARON – R.M. MAY, *art. cit.* (n. 59), p. 151 fig. 5.3.

⁷⁷ Or, as R. SALLARES, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 89, somewhat cynically puts it, «if the city of Rome (...) can be said to have had a function in the Roman empire, it can only have been the following: people migrated there, failed to reproduce themselves and died young». (This, however, neglects a second probable function of Rome's parasitic existence as an agent of generating limited economic growth in the tax/tent-exporting provinces.).

⁷⁸ For the problems, see very briefly T.G. PARKIN, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 135f. Cf. the valiant attempts by P.A. BRUNT, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 154-265.

the concomitant causes of seasonal excess mortality would most probably have precipitated progressive population decrease after mass immigration had subsided, at least from the early fifth century A.D. onwards⁷⁹. Recent claims that Rome remained one of the largest cities in the Mediterranean during and even after the disintegration of the empire in the West thus call for critical reconsideration⁸⁰.

University of Michigan

Walter SCHEIDEL

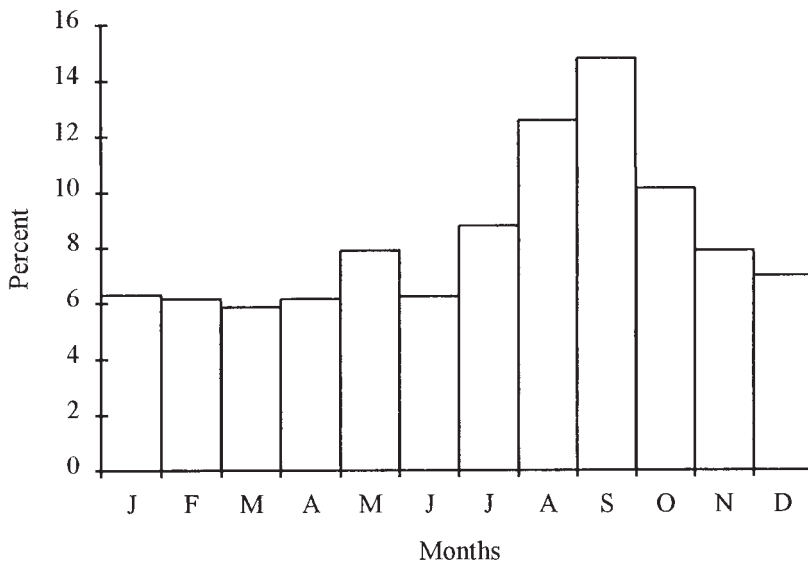


Fig. 1. Seasonal distribution of deaths: Rome
(Nordberg sample, n = 2125)

⁷⁹ Cf. D. HERLIHY, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 52f., on the decline of fourteenth-century Pisa.

⁸⁰ *Contra* S.J.B. BARNISH, *Pigs, Plebeians and Potentes: Rome's Economic Hinterland c. 350-600 A.D.*, *PBSR* 55 (1987), p. 161-165.

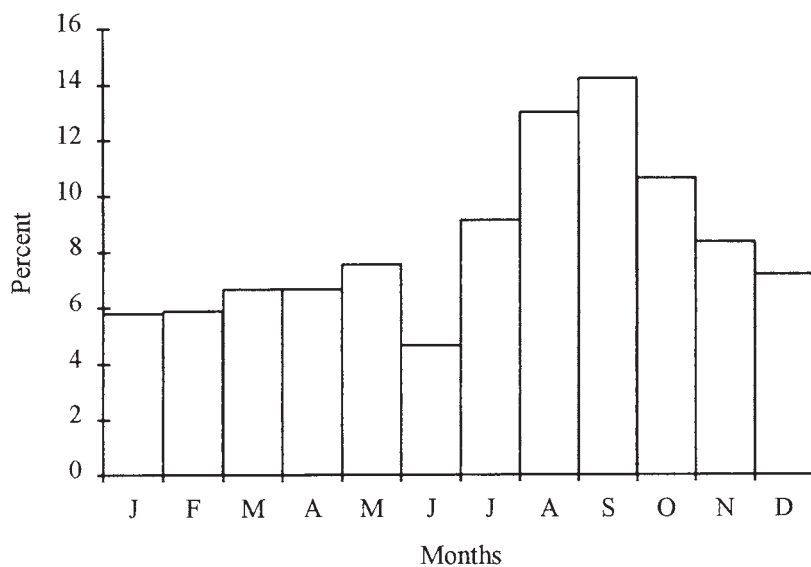


Fig. 2. Seasonal distribution of deaths: Rome
(De Rossi sample, $n = 568$)

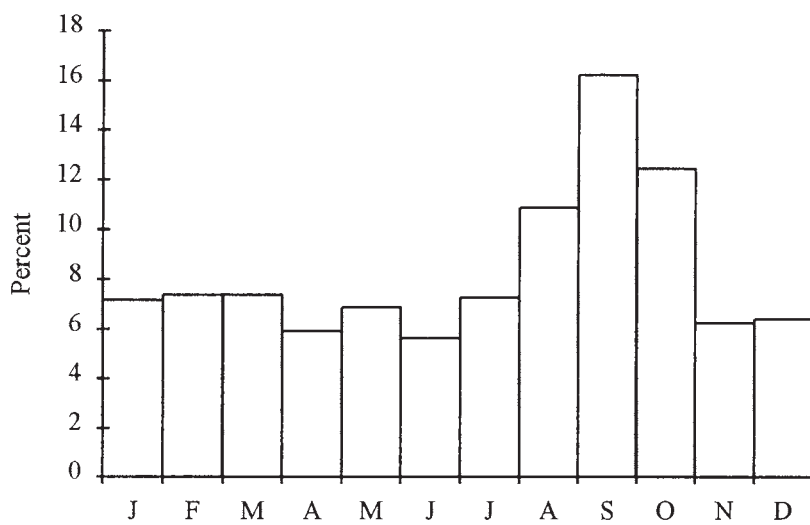


Fig. 3. Seasonal distribution of deaths: Rome
(3 Catacombs sample, $n = 886$)

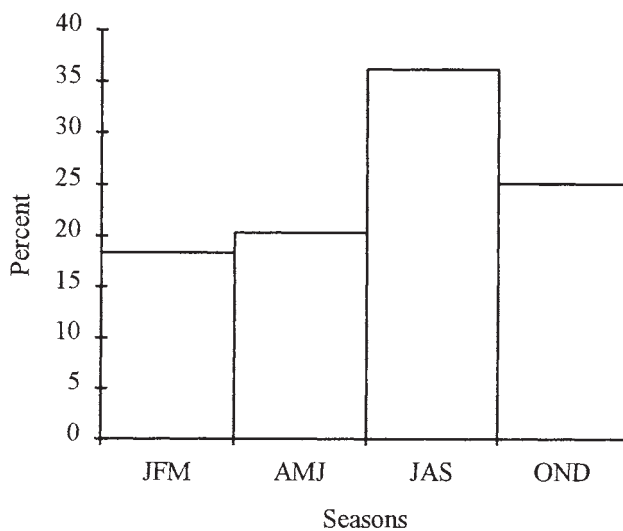


Fig. 4. Seasonal distribution of deaths: Rome
(Nordberg sample, $n = 2125$)

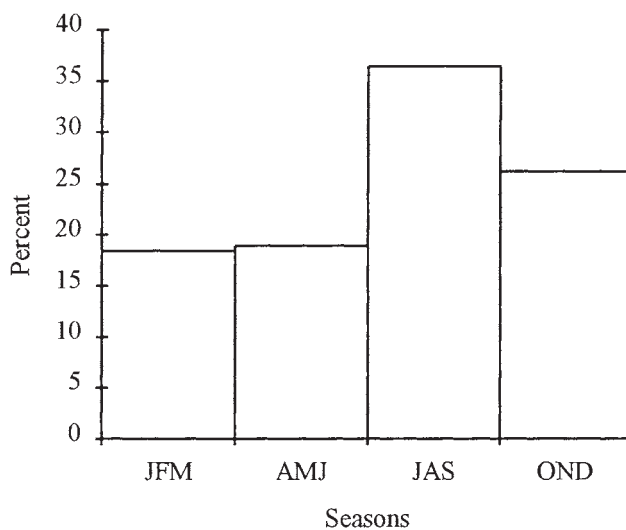


Fig. 5. Seasonal distribution of deaths: Rome
(De Rossi sample, $n = 568$)

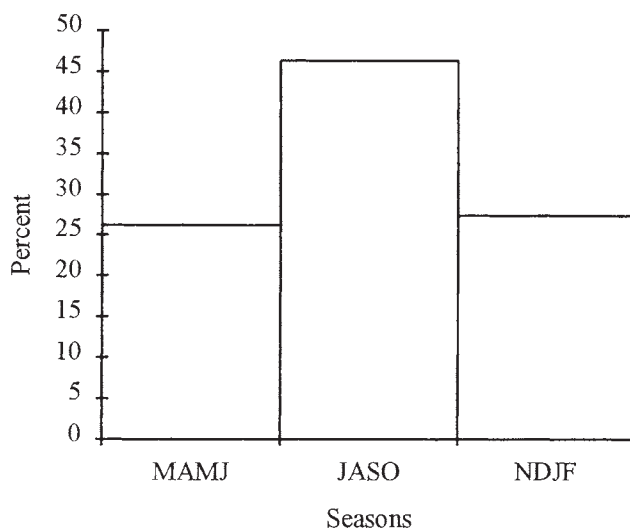


Fig. 6. Seasonal distribution of deaths: Rome
(3 Catacombs sample, $n = 886$)

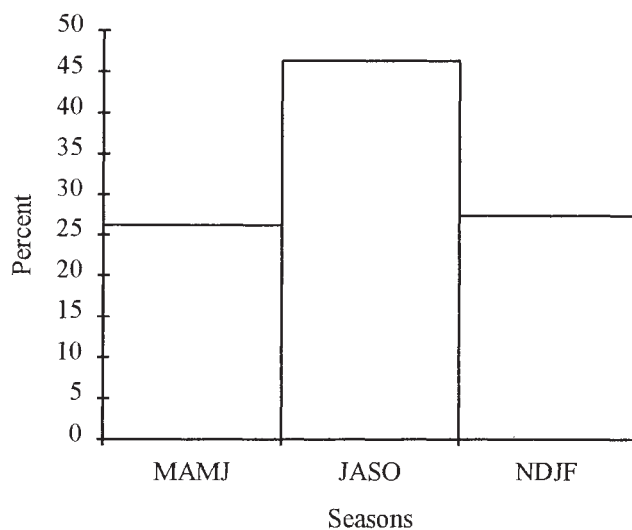


Fig. 7. Seasonal distribution of deaths: Rome
(Nordberg sample, $n = 2125$)

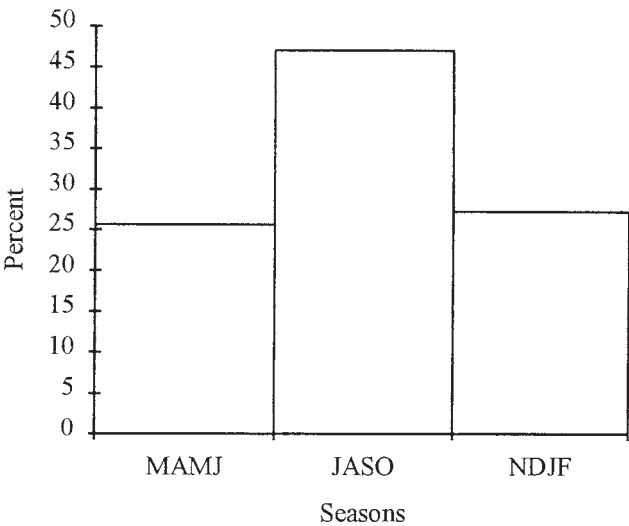


Fig. 8. Seasonal distribution of deaths: Rome
(De Rossi sample, n = 568)

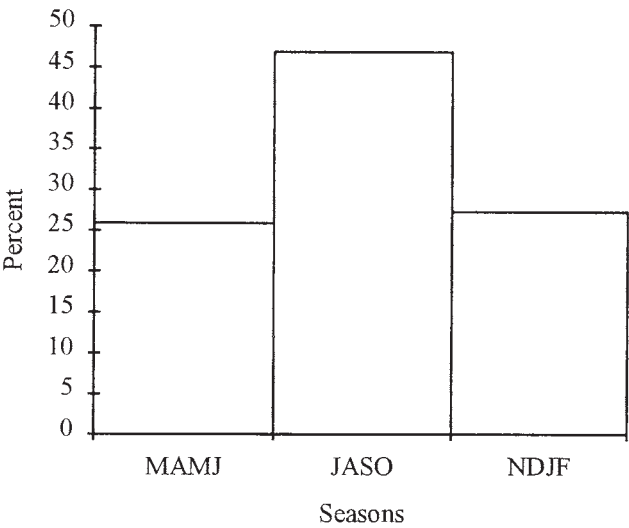


Fig. 9. Seasonal distribution of deaths: Rome
(3 Catacombs sample, n = 886)

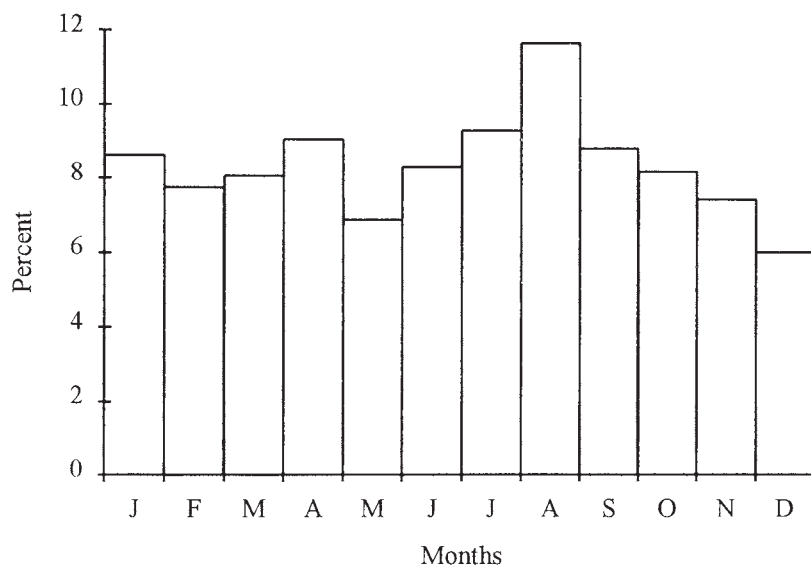


Fig. 10. Seasonal distribution of deaths: Florence
(Plague-free year, n = 1614)

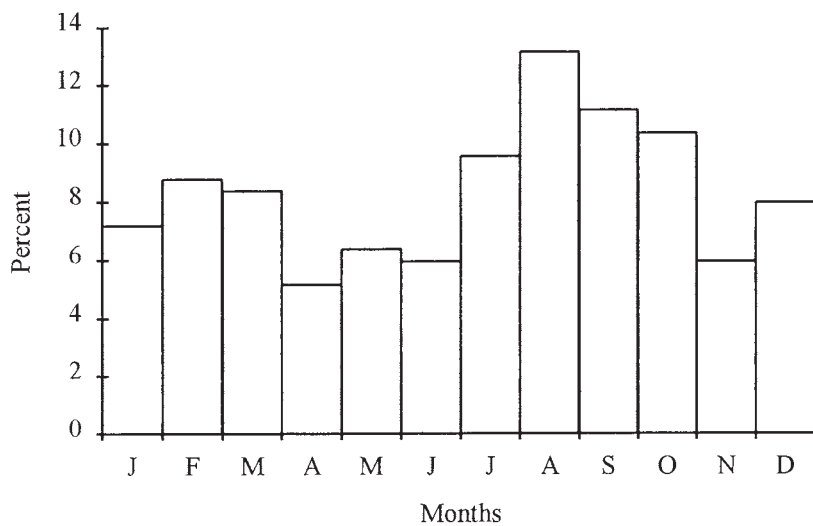


Fig. 11. Seasonal distribution of deaths: Canterbury
(Christ Church Priory, 1395-1505, n = 251)

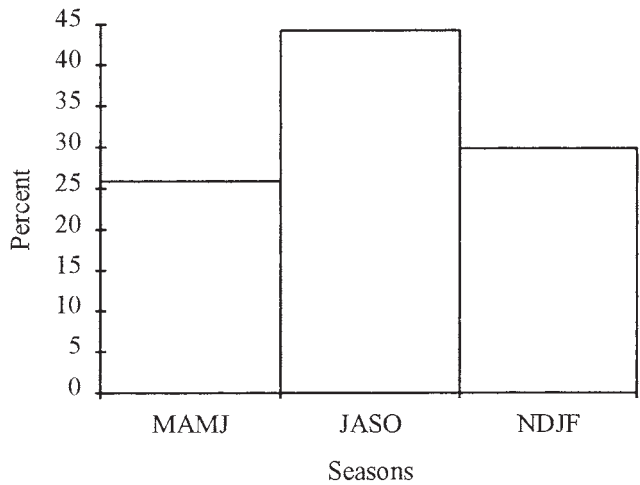


Fig. 12. Seasonal distribution of deaths: Canterbury (Christ Church Priory, 1395-1505, n = 251)

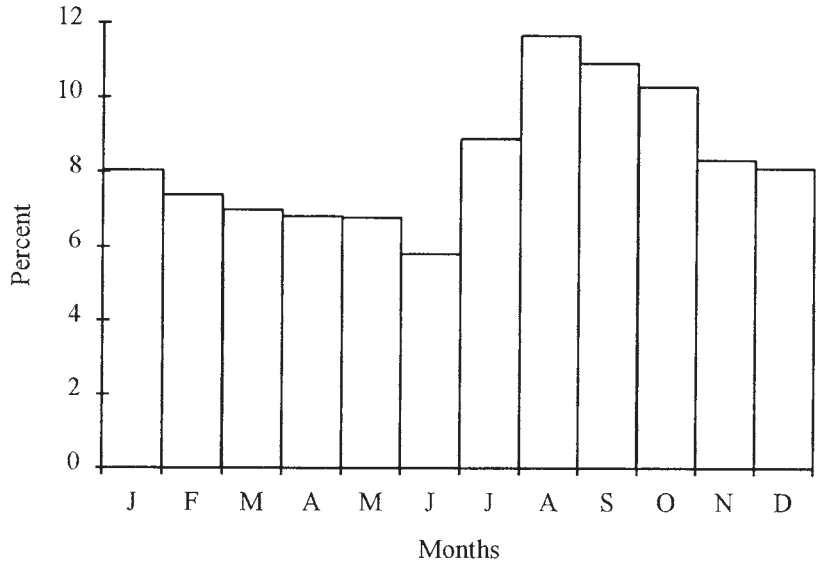


Fig. 13. Seasonal distribution of deaths: Terlizzi (1701-1800, n = 13,278)

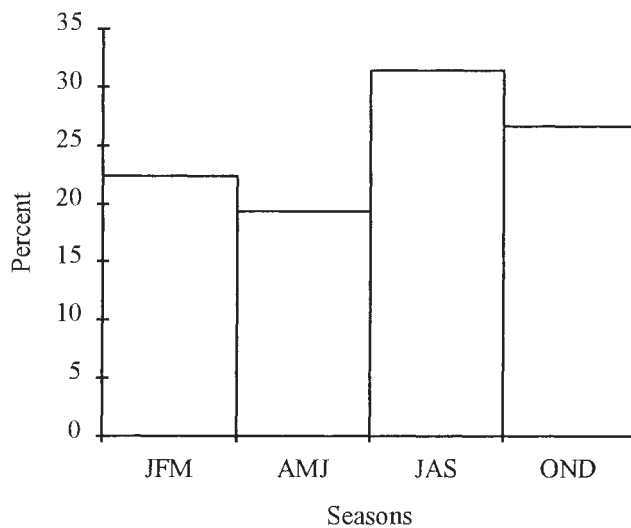


Fig. 14. Seasonal distribution of deaths: Terlizzi
(1701-1800, n. 13.278)

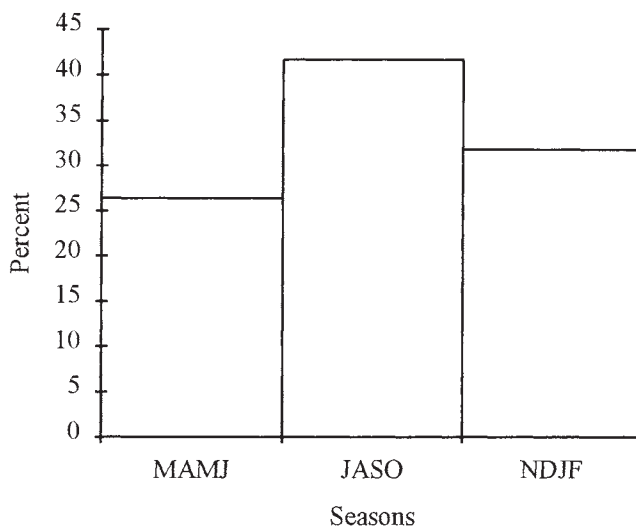


Fig. 15. Seasonal distribution of deaths: Terlizzi
(1701-1800, n = 13.278)

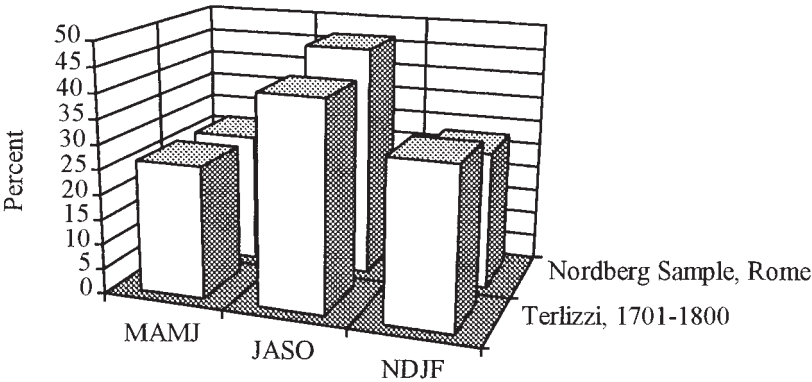


Fig. 16. Seasonal distribution of deaths: Rome and Terlizzi

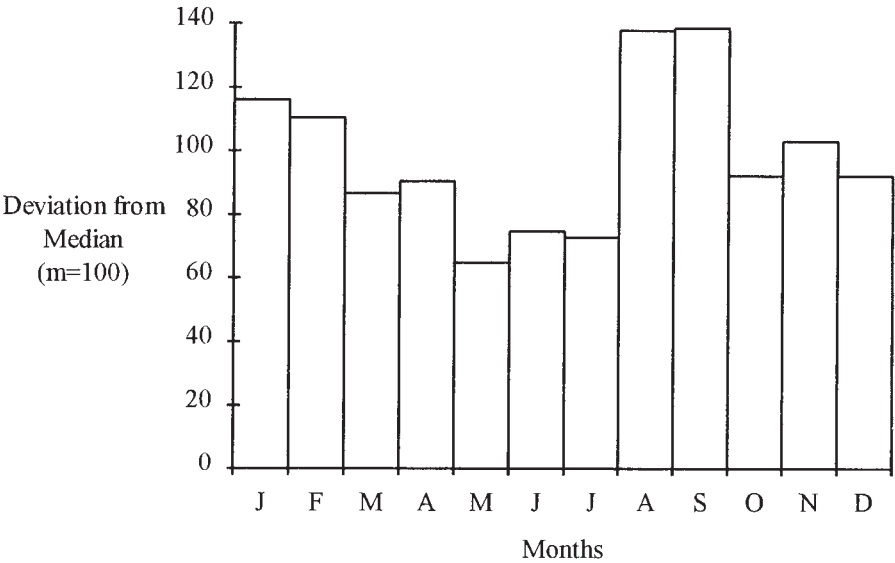


Fig. 17. Seasonal distribution of deaths: Camerino (1850-1859)

IL CULTO DI ESCULAPIO FRA I PELIGNI*

Il poeta sulmonese Ovidio fu il primo a vantare in molti dei suoi versi la ricchezza di acque della sua terra natale¹. Uno sguardo alla carta delle sorgenti dell' Abruzzo² dimostra che le asserzioni di Ovidio, e di molti altri autori dopo di lui, non sono per nulla esagerate. La ricchezza idrica del territorio peligno ha senz' altro avuto ripercussioni in molti aspetti della vita dei suoi abitanti, innanzi tutto nella vita religiosa, come nella scelta di luoghi di culto³. Infatti, sia nella vallata centrale che nelle valli laterali, in prossimità di molte sorgenti sorsero santuari più o meno grandi: Castelvechio Subequo, Secinaro, Molina Aterno, Corfinio, Popoli, Sulmona, Cocullo, Scanno⁴. Eccetto uno, tutti questi santuari erano dedicati ad Ercole, noto protettore delle sorgenti, soprattutto di quelle salutarie; Ercole aveva un successo particolare in tutta la regio IV, e questo a partire dal VI-V secolo a. C.⁵. L'unico santuario fontile di tutto il territorio peligno a non aver restituito alcuna testimonianza erculeale è quello di Popoli, a nord di Corfinium, presso la sorgente Capo Pescara⁶.

Se tutto il territorio dei Peligni merita l'epiteto di *aquosus*, ciò risulta particolarmente appropriato per la zona intorno a Popoli⁷. Particolarmente copiosa è proprio la sorgente Capo Pescara, che ha una tale portata che dal Medioevo in poi ha dato il suo nome all' ultimo tratto del fiume che prima si chiamava *Aternus*. Nella stessa zona, troviamo altri

* Ringrazio vivamente della loro collaborazione gli amici Ezio Mattiocco e Franco Musarra. La ricerca è stata eseguita con il contributo del «Center for Interdisciplinary Archaeology» (IUAP/PIA 28).

¹ Ovid., *Amores* II 1.1; II 16 (*passim*); III 15.11; *Fasti* IV 685-686; *Tristia* IV 10.3.

² Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici, *Le sorgenti Italiane. Elenco e descrizione*, vol. IX. *Abruzzo. Sezione idrografica di Pescara*, Roma 1964, p. 157 ss. e carta allegata.

³ I.E.M. EDLUND, *The Gods and the Place*, Stockholm 1987, p. 54 ss.

⁴ Cf. F. VAN WONTERGHEM, *Superaequum, Corfinium, Sulmo* (*Forma Italiae*, Reg. IV 1), Firenze 1984, nn. 1.5, 14, 20, 51, 102, 140, 231.3b, 246.2, 248.2; E. MATTIOCCO – F. VAN WONTERGHEM, *La fortuna di Ercole tra i Peligni*, in *Dalla villa di Ovidio al santuario di Ercole* (ed. E. MATTIOCCO), Sulmona 1989, p. 47 ss.

⁵ J. BAYET, *Les origines de l'Hercule romain*, Paris 1926, p. 374 ss.; F. MUTHMANN, *Mutter und Quelle*, Basel 1975, p. 37 e nota 47; G. MOITRIEUX, *Hercules salutaris*, Nancy 1992, p. 122 ss.; F. VAN WONTERGHEM, *Il culto di Ercole fra i popoli osco-sabellici*, in *Héraclès: d'une rive à l'autre de la Méditerranée* (edd. C. BONNET – C. JOURDAIN-ANNEQUIN), Bruxelles–Roma 1992, p. 319 ss.

⁶ *Forma Italiae* (not. 4), p. 205-207, n. 102.

affluenti dell' Aterno/Pescara, il Giardino e il S. Callisto, meno importanti ma pur sempre ricchi d'acqua, nonché numerose sorgenti tra le quali alcune si distinguono per il carattere solfureo.

La sorgente Capo Pescara comporta varie polle, che sgorgano ai piedi del colle omonimo, e insieme, prima di immettersi in un canale naturale che le convoglia al fiume, formano un piccolo lago (fig. 1)⁸. Ad ovest della polla più meridionale il fianco del Colle Capo Pescara presenta un piccolo rialzo, una decina di metri al di sopra delle sorgenti (fig. 2). Su questo terrazzamento furono riportati alla luce, in varie riprese, i resti di un santuario antico, costituito da diversi nuclei di costruzioni (fig. 3). La terrazza è tenuta da alcuni massi rocciosi ma in antico questi erano indubbiamente completati da muri di terrazzamento ora scomparsi, probabilmente a causa di frane o cedimenti di terreno. Questo causò la disgregazione della terrazza e la distruzione della parte orientale del complesso culturale. Ad ovest una parte del complesso risulta probabilmente ancora coperta dalla terra franata dal colle. Così la pianta finora ricostruibile risulta ancora estremamente frammentaria (fig. 4).

Fra il 1966 e il 1971 furono riportati alla luce i resti di due costruzioni distinte, ora di nuovo ricoperti, che presentavano lo stesso allineamento nord-sud. Del primo edificio (A) venne sgomberato un ambiente quasi quadrato di m 6,40 per 6,65. Dei muri, spessi m 0,45–0,50, rimane per lo più uno zoccolo formato di uno o due filari di blocchi di calcare sbazzati di diversa grandezza (lunghi fino a più di 1 metro). Più in alto i muri erano probabilmente fatti di mattoni crudi come il sacello del tempio di Ercole di Sulmona⁹. All'interno questi muri sono ricoperti da tegole, sulle quali venne applicato un doppio strato di malta. L'ingresso si trovava probabilmente sul lato meridionale le cui strutture murarie presentano un' interruzione di alcuni metri. Il pavimento in battuto ha nel mezzo un campo ornato da un reticolato di losanghe in tessere nere su fondo bianco. Simili pavimenti, in tessere bianche su fondo rosso o in tessere nere su fondo bianco, s'incontrano spesso dal III al I secolo a.C.¹⁰ e sono probabilmente identificabili con i *pavimenta scutulata* menzionati da Plinio¹¹.

⁷ *Le sorgenti italiane* (not. 2), p. 178-184.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 179-180.

⁹ *Forma Italiae* (not. 4), p. 246. Cf. Plinio, *Nat. Hist.* XXX 63: *crudis laterculis*.

¹⁰ M.L. MORRICONE MATINI, *Pavimenti di signino repubblicani di Roma e dintorni (Mosaici antichi in Italia)*, Roma 1971, pp. 24 ss. e 30 n. 8.

¹¹ Plin., *Nat. Hist.* XXXVI 185; M. DONDERER, *Die antiken Pavimenttypen und ihre Benennungen*, *JDAI* 102 (1987), p. 373.

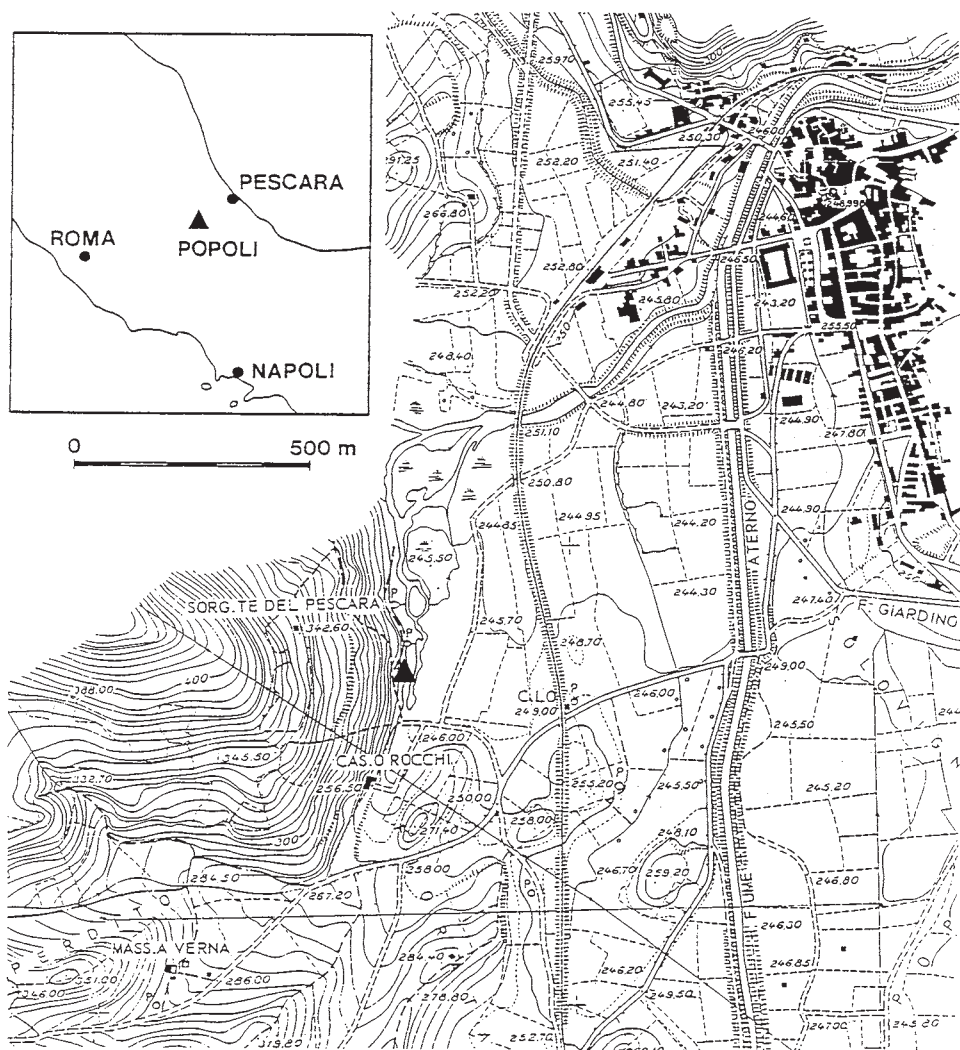


Fig. 1 — Popoli: localizzazione del santuario (▲) presso le sorgenti del fiume Pescara (in base ad una carta topografica della S.C.A.ME.).



Fig. 2 — Popoli, Capo Pescara: veduta generale delle sorgenti del fiume e del luogo ove sorgeva il santuario.

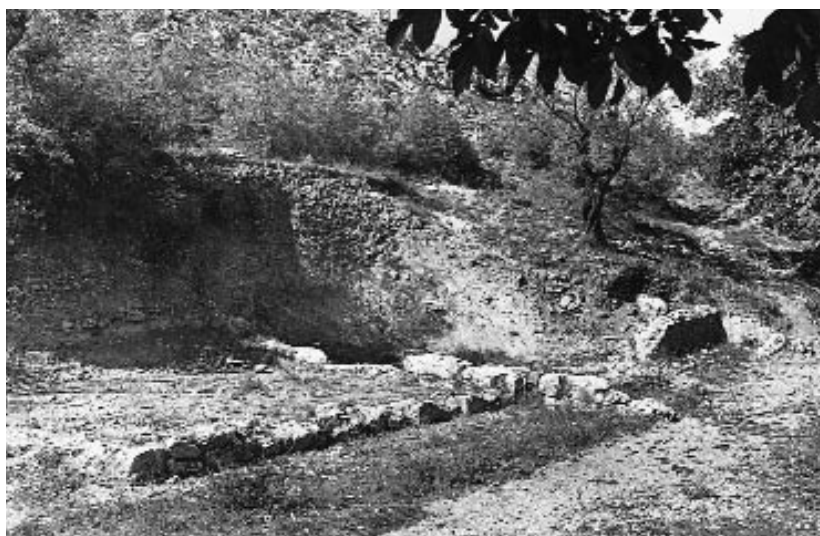


Fig. 3 — Popoli, Capo Pescara: resti del santuario (1971).

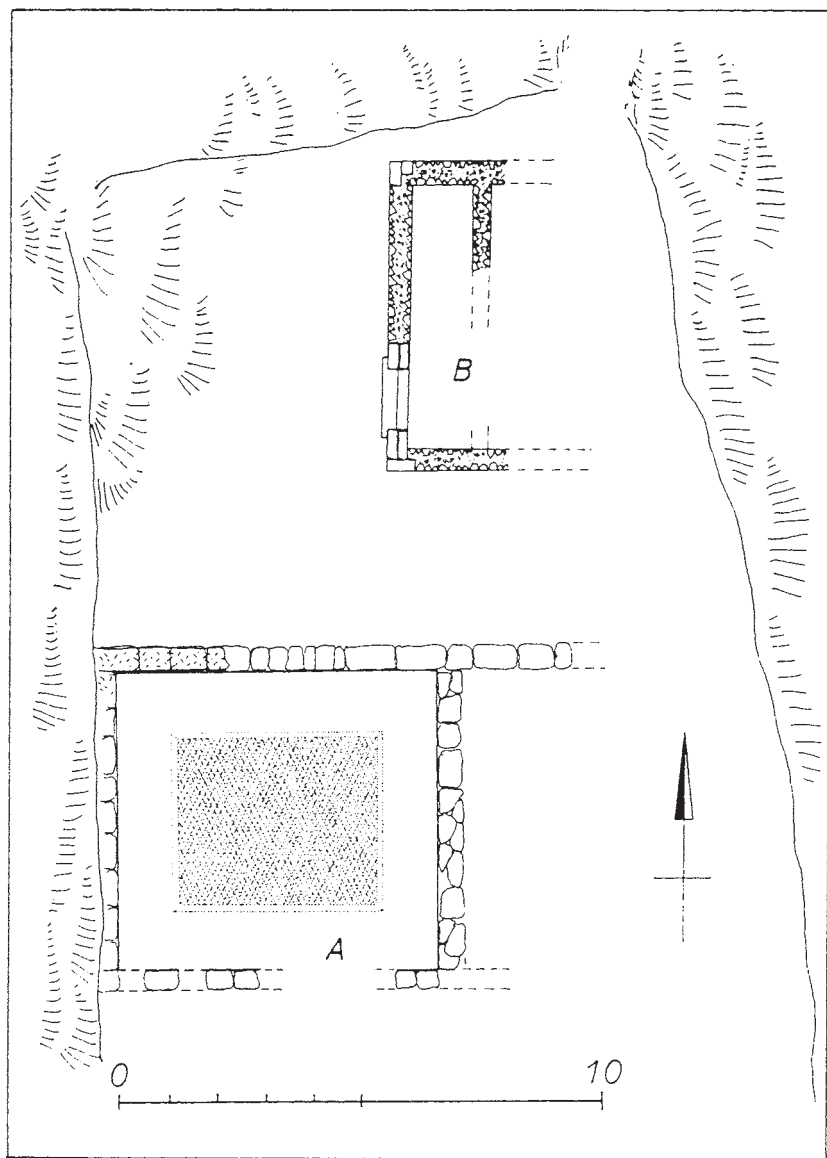


Fig. 4 — Popoli, Capo Pescara: pianta dei resti del santuario (1971).

Il proseguimento verso est del muro settentrionale dell' ambiente A sembra indicare che almeno in questa direzione era affiancato da un altro ambiente, quasi interamente scomparso. A m 3,5 a nord di questo primo nucleo di ambienti furono trovati i resti di un' altra costruzione (B) della quale rimangono soltanto quelli della facciata con la soglia dell' ingresso, rivolto verso ovest, e di una parte dei muri laterali e di un muro interno. I muri, spessi m 0,45, sono in opera cementizia con paramenti in opera incerta; gli spigoli e gli stipiti di porta sono rifiniti molto accuratamente in opera quadrata.

È difficile ricostruire l'estensione originaria del complesso. Probabilmente gli edifici erano disposti su una terrazza allungata, larga m 15-20 e lunga m 50-60, paragonabile alla prima fase del santuario di Ercole Curino¹². Non è impossibile che una parte del santuario si estendesse anche ad un livello inferiore, vicino alle sorgenti stesse.

I saggi eseguiti in varie occasioni (in particolare nel 1966 e nel 1971) portarono alla luce un materiale molto vario¹³. Tra le macerie dell' ambiente A furono trovati un frammento di colonnina ed alcune basi modanate in pietra. Ad ovest dello stesso ambiente vennero scoperti molti frammenti fittili provenienti da statue votive. Di questi soltanto pochi sono identificabili o ricomponibili: una testa femminile, frammenti di statue drappeggiate e frammenti di statue virili nude, originariamente alte più di un metro (fig. 5). Inoltre vengono segnalati come provenienti da scavi a Capo Pescara della ceramica a vernice nera del III-II secolo a.C., un fornello di terracotta (alt. cm 15,5), lucerne del I-II secolo d.C. e un serpente votivo in bronzo (lung. cm 18) (fig. 10).

Se il carattere votivo di molti dei reperti non lascia dubbi sulla destinazione sacrale del complesso in esame, l'identificazione del culto non risulta altrettanto evidente. Sono completamente assenti documenti epigrafici o rappresentazioni di divinità direttamente identificabili. Il materiale votivo è per lo più assai generico ad eccezione, però, del già menzionato serpente votivo in bronzo. A prima vista questo potrebbe far pensare a un culto delle serpi ed essere messo in rapporto con Angitia, divinità dei Marsi e non sconosciuta tra i Peligni¹⁴. Ma è anche possibile, e forse più probabile, che il serpente votivo rimandi al culto di Asclepio/Esculapio. Infatti, in questo culto il serpente occupa una posizione di

¹² *Forma Italiae* (not. 4), p. 240 ss., n. 140.

¹³ Archivio Sopr. Arch. Abruzzo, Chieti (PE 33 I.D. 1).

¹⁴ Cf. *Forma Italiae* (not. 4), p. 294 (con bibl.).

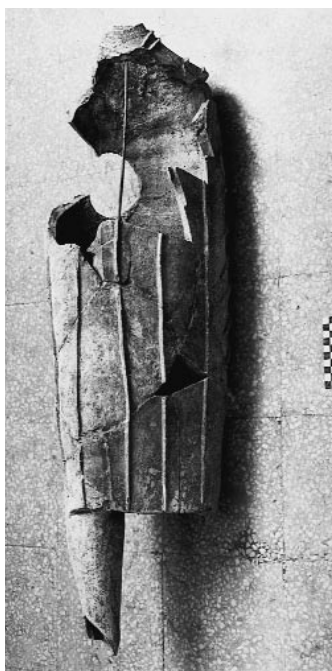


Fig. 5 — Popoli, Capo Pescara:
statua votiva frammentaria.



Fig. 6



Fig. 7

Fig. 6-8 — Corfinio, museo:
terrecotte votive della
donazione De Petris.



Fig. 8

rilievo e serpenti votivi in bronzo sono presenti anche in *Asklepieia*, come p.e. a Pergamo¹⁵. Questo primo indizio può essere confortato da altri che permettono di individuare anche a Popoli un luogo di culto dedicato ad Asclepio/Esculapio.

Secondo i consigli di Vitruvio, la terrazza sovrastante le sorgenti del Pescara si prestava indubbiamente ad ospitare un luogo di culto salutare come quello di Esculapio:

«Il decoro naturale si avrà, se si sceglieranno regioni saluberrime e fonti di acqua idonee in quei luoghi ove il tempio si costruirà, specialmente se si tratti di Esculapio e di Salus, e degli altri dei per le cui medicine molti malati sembrano essere curati; infatti, quando il corpo infermo vien trasportato da un luogo malsano in uno salubre e vengon somministrate acque salubri, più presto guariranno; così accadrà che dalla natura del luogo consegua lode e dignità maggiori la divinità stessa»¹⁶

Oltre alle caratteristiche ambientali, anche nei dintorni sono ravvisabili ulteriori indizi che, senza essere probanti, rendono però sempre più verosimile l'identificazione proposta. Nell'abitato di Popoli, sopra un portale nel cortile del Palazzo Cantelmo, è murata una testa virile in marmo di grandezza maggiore del naturale (altezza conservata cm 50 ca) (fig. 9). L'esecuzione è assai buona e per i ricci dei capelli e della barba è stato fatto largo uso del trapano. La posizione attuale non permette di accertarsi della presenza di qualche copricapo tipico (p.e. diadema o *polos*), ma una delle possibili identificazioni di questa testa barbata — oltre a Giove, Poseidone o Serapide¹⁷ — è precisamente Asclepio o Esculapio¹⁸. Se la divinità era rappresentata in posizione eretta, la statua poteva raggiungere un' altezza di m 2,60–2,70 ca.

Un elemento caratteristico degli *Asklepieia*, tanto in Grecia che in Italia, è il costume di dedicare non solo statue o statuine ma soprattutto *ex*

¹⁵ A. WALTON, *The Cult of Asklepios*, New York 1894, p. 13 ss., 65, 91; L. BODSON, *Les Grecs et leurs serpents*, AC 50 (1981), p. 57-78, part. p. 61 n. 12 e tav. I, fig. 2.

¹⁶ Vitr., *De arch.* I 2.7; traduzione: S. FERRI, *Vitruvio, Architettura (dai libri I-VII)*, Roma 1960, p. 61.

¹⁷ Nessuno di questi è finora attestato a Corfinio: v. la lista di divinità in M. BUONOCORE, *Apollo nella dedica di un veterano abruzzese della settima coorte pretoria*, RPAA 62 (1989-90), p. 218-229. La mancanza di testimonianze di Giove può essere soltanto casuale, vista la larga diffusione, anche fra i Peligni. Culti orientali, con i quali andrebbe bene Serapide, erano ben rappresentati a Corfinio. Alle dediche a divinità egizie e orientali potrebbe forse essere aggiunto un complesso attualmente in corso di scavo presso S. Giacomo (1994).

¹⁸ Cf. B. HOLTZMAN, *Asklepios*, in *L.I.M.C.*, p. 865 ss.



Fig. 9 — Popoli, Palazzo Cantelmo: testa virile marmorea (Asclepio?).



Fig. 10 — Popoli, Capo Pescara: serpente votivo in bronzo (foto Sopr. Arch. Abruzzo).

voto anatomici: teste, maschere, braccia, mani, gambe, piedi e genitali¹⁹. A Capo Pescara sono segnalate finora soltanto statue fittili e una testa (v. sopra). Però, nella raccolta archeologica corfiniese sono presenti anche *ex voto* anatomici, teste femminili, maschere, mani, piedi e genitali maschili, di cui purtroppo la provenienza precisa rimane sconosciuta, ma non è improbabile che provengano da Popoli. Alcuni di questi *ex voto* anatomici (figg. 6-8) furono donati nel 1886 dal Conte L. De Petris al museo appena costituito, insieme a statuine fittili di animali, un frammento di *antepagmentum* in terracotta (con testa di Acheloo?) e altro materiale in marmo, osso e ferro²⁰.

Un'altra usanza tipica degli *Asklepieia*, in Grecia e in Italia, era il rito dell'*incubatio*²¹. Il pernottamento di infermi e pellegrini nel santuario, per conoscere nel sogno i rimedi per ottenere la guarigione, sopravvisse anche dopo l'Antichità, e questo soprattutto in Abruzzo e più particolarmente nella Conca Peligna. Nella parte settentrionale della valle, in territorio corfiniese, l'*incubatio* è attestata non lontano da Popoli, tra Vittorito e Raiano, nei santuari di S. Maria Ottaviani (o de Contra) e di S. Venanzio, nonché in quello della Madonna della Libera a Pratola Peligna²².

Forse non direttamente collegabile con il probabile santuario di Esculapio, ma comunque sempre nella sfera 'medica', va menzionata ancora l'iscrizione funeraria corfiniese di un *Epictetio 'medi(cus)'*²³.

Le testimonianze del culto di Asclepio/Esculapio in Italia centrale sono molto scarse, soprattutto per il periodo repubblicano²⁴. A Roma il culto sembra essere stato introdotto agli inizi del III secolo a.C.²⁵ Fuori Roma è nota dalla tradizione letteraria l'esistenza di un santuario di Esculapio ad Anzio²⁶, mentre un altro fu ritrovato a

¹⁹ A. COMELLA, *Riflessi del culto di Asclepio sulla religiosità popolare etrusco-laziale e campana di epoca medio- e tardo-repubblicana*, *AFLPer* 20, n.s. 6 (1982-1983), p. 215 ss.; F. COARELLI e.a., *Fregellae. 2. Il santuario di Esculapio*, Roma 1986, p. 89 ss.

²⁰ Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Min. Pubbl. Istr., Dir. Gen. AA.& BB.AA., 2° vers., busta 15 (Pentima): lettera di A. De Nino a G. Fiorelli del 30-8-1886.

²¹ A. COMELLA, *art. cit.* (not. 19), p. 244.

²² G. PANSÀ, *Miti, leggende e superstizioni dell'Abruzzo*, Sulmona 1924, p. 112-117; C. ALICANDRI CIUFELLI, *Incubatio nella Valle Peligna*, in *Atti del VII Congresso Naz. delle tradizioni popolari* (Chieti, sett. 1957), Firenze 1959, p. 263-266.

²³ M. BUONOCORE, *Corfinium*, in *Supplementa Italica*, n.s. 3, Roma 1987, p. 157, n. 19 (con bibl.).

²⁴ A. COMELLA, *op.cit.* (not. 19), p. 229 ss.

²⁵ D. DEGRASSI, *Il Culto di Esculapio in Italia centrale durante il periodo repubblicano*, in F. COARELLI e.a., *op. cit.* (not. 19), p. 145 ss.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 149 ss.

Fregellae²⁷. Qui il santuario portato alla luce risale al II secolo, ma in base al materiale votivo il culto a carattere salutare vi giunge fino al pieno III secolo a.C.²⁸

Finora gli elementi che si riferiscono ad Esculapio, venuti alla luce a Popoli, sono ancora molto scarsi e potrebbe anche benissimo trattarsi di atti di devozione isolati verso il dio della medicina in un santuario dedicato a una divinità locale con qualità guaritrici, legata alle sorgenti del Pescara. Talvolta Asclepio/Esculapio è anche associato ad Eracle/Ercole, finora non attestato presso le sorgenti del Pescara ma altrimenti onnipresente nel territorio peligno²⁹. Se si tratta veramente di un culto di Esculapio, si possono congetturare diversi modi di arrivo. Il santuario di Popoli e il materiale votivo ivi ritrovato o riferibile ad esso sono molto simili alla situazione e al materiale dei santuari nella Valle del Liri³⁰, e non è impossibile che il culto di Esculapio sia giunto nel territorio di Corfinium da Fregellae attraverso la Valle del Liri³¹. Però, considerato il legame innegabile tra la transumanza e la diffusione di culti e pratiche religiose³², potrebbe essere altrettanto ipotizzabile che il culto di Asclepio/Esculapio raggiunse la Valle Peligna dalla Puglia settentrionale dove esisteva un' antica tradizione di un culto salutare di Podalirio, figlio di Asclepio, che nel Gargano veniva invocato in modo particolare dai pastori³³. Infine non deve esser escluso un arrivo diretto dalla Grecia.

²⁷ Si veda F. COARELLI e.a., *op. cit.* (not. 19); F. COARELLI, *I santuari del Lazio in età repubblicana*, Roma 1987, p. 23-33.

²⁸ D. DEGRASSI, *op. cit.* (not. 25), p. 151.

²⁹ V. sopra note 4 & 5. Particolarmente significativo a questo riguardo è il santuario, manifestamente dedicato ad Ercole, che la Soprintendenza Archeologica dell' Abruzzo (Dott.ssa A. Campanelli) sta portando alla luce ad est di Corfinio presso la Fonte S. Ippolito, delle cui acque vengono tuttora vantate le virtù salutari (cf. *Forma Italiae* [not. 4], p. 178, n. 51).

³⁰ Se veda M. RIZZELLO, *I santuari della media Valle del Liri IV-I sec. a.C.*, Sora 1980, *passim*, e anche A.M. REGGIANI MASSARINI, *Santuari degli Equicoli a Corvaro*, Roma 1988, p. 63 ss.

³¹ La colonia latina di Fregellae non era sconosciuta ai Peligni. Livio (XLI 8.8) ci racconta che prima del 177 a.C. 4000 famiglie peligne e sannite emigrarono verso Fregellae. Ma a Roma fu decretato il loro ritorno, in conseguenza di una querela mossa dalla popolazione rimasta in patria (XLI 9.9). La presenza di Peligni a Fregellae risulta anche epigraficamente documentata. Cf. F. COARELLI, *I culti sannitici nel Lazio meridionale*, in *Comunità indigene e problemi della romanizzazione nell' Italia centro-meridionale (IV°-III° sec. av.C.)* (Actes coll. Acad. Belg. 1990), Brussel-Roma 1991, p. 179 ss., 189 ss.

³² A.M. REGGIANI MASSARINI, *op. cit.* (not. 29), p. 66 ss.; E. MATTIOCCO – F. VAN WONTERGHEM, *op. cit.* (not. 4), p. 48 ss.; F. VAN WONTERGHEM, *op. cit.* (not. 5), p. 321 ss.

³³ A. COMELLA, *op. cit.* (not. 19), p. 232.

Infatti fra i *negotiatores* italici in oriente nel II e I secolo risultano presenti anche personaggi peligni³⁴.

Dal materiale archeologico rinvenuto si può dedurre che la frequentazione del santuario di Capo Pescara sia continuata in età imperiale fino al I-II secolo d.C. (v. sopra). In questo periodo il culto di Esculapio rimane sempre relativamente raro nell' Italia centrale interna. A nord dei Peligni troviamo attestato il culto di Esculapio nell' agro amitermino, dove incontriamo anche la dea Salus, generalmente interpretata qui come equivalente di Igea (Hygieia)³⁵.

Nell' alto Medioevo il santuario presso le sorgenti del Pescara è sostituito da una chiesa cristiana, 'S. Liberatore a Capo Pescara', ora scomparsa, segnalata fin dall' 816, quando fu donata ai monaci dell' abbazia di S. Vincenzo al Volturno³⁶.

Recentemente la zona di Capo Pescara è stata sistemata come riserva naturale. Peccato che non si sia approfittata dell' occasione per mettere in evidenza in questo parco i resti dell' antico santuario, tanto legato alla natura del luogo e di un' importanza non trascurabile.

B-3052 Blanden
Duivenstraat 75

F. VAN WONTERGHEM

³⁴ F. VAN WONTERGHEM, *Antiche genti peligne*, Sulmona 1975, p. 25-27.

³⁵ CIL IX 4512, da Barete (seconda metà II sec. d.C.), e 4460, da Preturo (I sec. d.C.); cf. S. SEGENTI, *Amiternum-Ager Amiterninus*, in *Supplementa Italica*, n.s. 9, Roma 1992, p. 53, 57. Per Salus — Hygieia si veda K. LATTE, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, München 1960, p. 227 nota 3 e M.A. MARWOOD, *The Roman Cult of Salus*, Oxford 1988, p. 13-14, 92, 124, 128, 131, 150-151.

³⁶ V. FEDERICI (ed.), *Chronicon Vulturnense del monaco Giovanni*, Roma, vol. I (1925), p. 229/13 e vol. III (1940), p. 28-30; G. CELIDONIO, *La diocesi di Valva e Sulmona I*, Casalbordino 1909, p. 181.

RECHERCHES SUR LES AEMILII D'AFRIQUE PROCONSULAIRE ET DE NUMIDIE*

Mises en œuvre à partir des travaux de H.-G. Pflaum depuis la fin des années cinquante, les études onomastiques sur l'Afrique du Nord ont apporté beaucoup à la connaissance du peuplement et du développement de la romanisation dans cette partie de l'Empire romain¹.

A partir de la liste des gouverneurs de la province et des gentilices dont la répétition en un lieu particulier indiquait une implantation à un moment donné et, par là, parfois une origine géographique, les premières recherches avaient permis d'ouvrir un certain nombre de directions de travail. Bien que n'ayant jamais négligé les problèmes de datation, ces travaux ont été complétés avec plus d'ampleur par J.-M. Lassère pour d'autres centres africains.

Ce savant a, en effet, systématiquement essayé de dater les inscriptions funéraires de Carthage, de Thugga, d'Ammaedara et de Thala, de Théveste, de Lambèse et de Cirta². Sa démarche permet aux épigraphistes d'avoir des repères chronologiques indispensables pour étudier l'évolution de la romanisation en Afrique proconsulaire et dans un camp militaire³.

Depuis les années soixante on voit se multiplier l'étude onomastique de certaines cités, voire de certaines régions: c'est le cas, en particulier

* Sauf indication du contraire, les références au *CIL* concernent le volume VIII.

¹ Pour la première fois dans une région bien délimitée, la Cirtéenne (région de Cirta–Constantine), H.-G. PFLAUM avait tenté d'exploiter la somme des inscriptions mises au jour depuis plus d'un siècle. On rappellera ses deux recherches majeures: *Remarques sur l'onomastique du Castellum Celtianum, Carnuntina. Römische Forschungen in Niederösterreich* 3 (1956), p. 126-151; ID., *Remarques sur l'onomastique de Cirta, Limes Studien* 1958 [1959], p. 96-133; ces deux articles sont aussi accessibles dans H.-G. PFLAUM, *Afrique romaine. Scripta varia* I, Paris 1975. On complètera encore ces premiers travaux par H.-G. PFLAUM, *Remarques sur l'onomastique du Castellum Tidditanorum, BCTH* n.s. 10-11, fasc. 3, 1974-1975 [1978], p. 9-43 [désormais *Onom. Tiddis*].

² J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Recherches sur la chronologie des épitaphes païennes de l'Afrique, AntAfr* 7 (1973), p. 7-151. On peut compléter cette étude par les remarques de G.-Ch. PICARD, *La démographie de Mactar*, dans *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy* (Cambridge 1967), Oxford 1971, p. 269-275, et par celles de M. LE GLAY, *Les critères onomastiques de datation*, dans *Actes de la Table Ronde de Nîmes* (25-26 mai 1987), *Ecole Antique de Nîmes* 20 (1989), p. 13-19.

³ Voir encore J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Onomastica africana* I-IV, *AntAfr* 13 (1979), p. 227-234. Cf. *AE* 1979, 639 et 681; ID., *Onomastica africana* V-VII, *AntAfr* 18 (1982), p. 167-175; *AE* 1982, 921.

de Carthage⁴, de Bulla Regia⁵, de Thibilis⁶, de Simitthus⁷, ou encore de Mactar pour une époque un peu plus tardive⁸.

Cependant, sur ces questions bien des données sont fournies par J.-M. Lassère⁹, qu'on peut compléter encore par l'utile contribution de M. Dondin-Payre faite à partir de l'onomastique impériale¹⁰.

Pour les Maurétanies, enfin, on évoquera l'étude sur Auzia de J.-M. Lassère¹¹, sur Caesarea de Ph. Leveau¹² et de Y. Le Bohec sur Volubilis¹³.

Ces recherches ont donc ouvert la voie à une meilleure connaissance des conditions historiques de l'installation des individus qui ont peuplé cette terre africaine et de leurs origines géographiques, principalement en Italie. Elles ont aussi contribué à mieux distinguer le rôle des hommes politiques, des magistrats, des généraux et des empereurs.

Cependant si l'on mesure l'importance d'un homme comme C. Marius pour le peuplement de la moyenne Majrada (Bagrada), en avant de la *fossa regia*¹⁴, de César, de P. Sittius et d'Octave Auguste pour le I^{er}

⁴ H.-G. PLAUM, *La romanisation de l'ancien territoire de Carthage punique à la lumière des découvertes épigraphiques récentes*, *AntAfr* 4 (1970), p. 75-117; voir aussi G. HALFF, *L'onomastique punique de Carthage*, *Karthago* 12 (1963-1964), p. 61-146.

⁵ Y. THÉBERT, *La romanisation d'une cité indigène: Bulla Regia*, *MEFRA* 85 (1973), 1, p. 247-312.

⁶ F. BERTRANDY, *Thibilis (Announa) de Juba I^{er} au triumvir M. Aemilius Lepidus: les premières étapes de la romanisation d'une cité numide (46-36 avant J.-C.)*, *Karthago* 19 1977-1978 [1980], p. 87-106.

⁷ J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Remarques sur le peuplement de la Colonia Iulia Augusta Numidica Simitthus*, *AntAfr* 16 (1980), p. 27-43.

⁸ A. M'CHAREK, *Aspects de l'évolution démographique et sociale à Mactaris aux II^e et III^e siècles après J.-C.*, Tunis 1982.

⁹ J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Ubique populus. Peuplement et mouvements de population dans l'Afrique romaine de la chute de Carthage à la fin de la dynastie des Sévères (146 avant J.-C. – 235 après J.-C.)*, Paris 1977. Voir aussi ID., *L'organisation des contacts de population dans l'Afrique romaine sous la République et au Haut-Empire*, dans *ANRW* II 10.2, Berlin-New York 1982, p. 398-426.

¹⁰ M. DONDIN-PAYRE, *Recherches sur un aspect de la romanisation de l'Afrique du Nord: l'expansion de la citoyenneté romaine jusqu'à Hadrien*, *AntAfr* 17 (1981), p. 93-132.

¹¹ J.-M. LASSÈRE, *La colonia Septimia Aurelia Auziensium. Histoire institutionnelle et onomastique*, *Ktema* 6 (1981), p. 317-331.

¹² Ph. LEVEAU, *Caesarea de Maurétanie, une ville romaine et ses campagnes*, Rome 1984.

¹³ Y. LE BOHEC, *Onomastique et société à Volubilis*, *L'Africa Romana* 6 (1988) [1989], p. 339-356.

¹⁴ J. GASCOU, *Inscriptions de Tebessa*, *MEFR* 81 (1969), p. 558-568 («Marius et les Gétules») établit une carte de la répartition des Marii africains qui, pour la plupart, seraient les descendants des soldats gétules de Marius installés principalement entre l'oued Siliana et l'oued Tessa.

siècle avant notre ère, de certains Julio-Claudiens, des Flaviens et des premiers Antonins¹⁵, il est un personnage dont le rôle dans la romanisation de l'Afrique, à notre sens, est mal connu, c'est le triumvir M. Aemilius Lepide.

En effet, si son gouvernement sur l'Africa *uetus* et l'Africa *noua* couvre quatre années (été 40-juin 36)¹⁶, il est paradoxal de noter qu'une telle durée a laissé fort peu de traces¹⁷. Jusqu'à présent, en effet, les chercheurs n'ont guère retenu le grand nombre d'individus porteurs du gentilice Aemilius que l'on rencontre en Afrique du Nord. On en a recensé près de 700. Or l'examen attentif de cette catégorie d'«Africains» permet de tirer quelques enseignements susceptibles de préciser l'histoire de la romanisation dans cette partie de l'empire.

1. LES AEMILII DE TRIPOLITAINE

Vingt-cinq Aemilii sont mentionnés par les inscriptions d'Oea¹⁸, de Sabratha¹⁹ et de Lepcis Magna²⁰. Un certain nombre d'entre eux était certainement lié à des Aemilii d'origine italienne, venus avant Lépide et qui exerçaient des activités commerciales²¹.

On sait encore qu'Aemilia Pudentilla, dont le mariage avec Apulée de Madaure fut l'occasion d'un procès en magie, en 158-159(?), était

¹⁵ Voir J.-M. LASSERE, *Ubique Populus* (n. 9), p. 143-233, 236-294; M. DONDIN-PAYRE, *AntAfr* 17 (1981), p. 93-132. Sur l'action de P. Sittius, voir F. BERTRANDY, *L'Etat de P. Sittius et la 'Numidie cirtéenne' (I^{er} s. avant J.-C. – I^{er} s. après J.-C.)*, Thèse de Doctorat d'Etat dactylographiée, Paris IV-Sorbonne, Paris 1989, première partie.

¹⁶ Appien, *B.C.V* 65; Dion Cassius XLVIII 28.4; Plutarque, *Antoine* 30; Appien, *B.C.V* 98.

¹⁷ On rappellera toujours les deux témoignages qui le concernent, Dion LII 43; Tertulien, *de pallio* 1: «Post ... Lepidi uiolentia ludibria ...»; sur ce point en dernier lieu, M. LE GLAY, *Les premiers temps de Carthage romaine. Pour une révision des dates*, *BCTH* n.s. 19B (1985), p. 235-248, qui s'appuie sur les travaux de D. FISHWICK et B.D. SHAW, *The Formation of Africa Proconsularis*, *Hermes* 105 (1977), p. 369-380, et *The Era of the Cereres*, *Historia* 27 (1978), p. 343-345. Voir aussi la dédicace offerte à Lépide et retrouvée à Tabarka, *AE* 1959, 77.

¹⁸ *IRT* 230 (deux fois), 240, 241 (deux fois); au sud-ouest d'Oea, *IRT* 849. On mentionnera un *miles* de la legio II Traiana, stationnée à Nicopolis en Egypte, L. Aemilius Geta, *origo* Oea, *AE* 1955, 235.

¹⁹ *IRT* 2 (trois fois), 10, 12, 54, 11, 112, 154.

²⁰ *IRT* 363, 572 (deux fois), 589, 628-130, 639, 659, 714; *AE* 1958, 268.

²¹ J.-M. LASSERE, *Ubique Populus* (n. 9), p. 29, qui insiste sur l'activité portuaire de ces cités, source d'enrichissement d'une population qui vit des échanges. A.R. BIRLEY, *Names at Lepcis Magna*, *Libyan Studies* 19 (1988), p. 1-19 = *AE* 1990, 1029, évoque la possibilité d'une traduction du nom punique Himilis par Aemilius.

membre d'une riche famille d'Oea²². On a même proposé de rattacher à cette famille²³ L. Aemilius Celsianus (*IRT* 240 = *AE* 1948, 5), un affranchi, et son épouse, L. Aemilius Pacorus et son épouse Aemilia Calliope (*IRT* 241) et le proconsul d'Asie, en 182-183, L. Aemilius, L.f., Quirina (tribu), [Frontinus?] (*IRT* 241)²⁴.

Bien qu'il y ait la présence de trois Marcus²⁵, il nous paraît difficile de croire à une action de Lépidé dans ces cités côtières éloignées de ses pré-occupations politiques centrées sur l'Italie et la Sicile. Il faut envisager une présence plus ancienne (ou postérieure?) au gouvernement du triumvir.

2. LES AEMILII ET LES ÉTABLISSEMENTS MARIENS

Les inscriptions retrouvées dans les centres de Thuburnica²⁶, d'Ucchi Maius²⁷ et de Mustis²⁸ appartiennent à des épitaphes datées au plus tôt de la fin du I^{er} siècle de notre ère²⁹. Il semble assuré que les porteurs de ce gentilice sont les descendants de citoyens établis par Marius en avant de la *fossa regia*. Ainsi il est probable que Q. Aemilius, M.f., Aemilia (tribu), Pudens (*CIL* 14707) soit le descendant d'un Ombrien, venu de Meuania, avec Marius³⁰.

²² Apulée, *Apologie* 68.2 (éd. P. Valette, CUF). Le procès eut peut-être lieu sous le proconsulat de Claudius Maximus (Apulée, *Apologie* 94), soit en 158-159, selon la proposition de J. GUEY, *Au théâtre de Lepcis Magna*, *REL* 29 (1951), p. 307-317. Également, B.-E. THOMASSON, *RE* Suppl. XIII, s.v. *Africa Proconsularis*, col. 6.

²³ J. GUEY, *L'Apologie d'Apulée et les inscriptions de Tripolitaine*, *REL* 32 (1954), p. 115-119.

²⁴ Sur le personnage qui dédie un temple au Génie de la colonie d'Oea, voir *PIR* I n° 348, p. 54-55.

²⁵ *IRT* 112 (Sabratha): M. Aem[ilius], M. f., Q[uir(ina) tribu], datée du I^{er} siècle; *IRT* 630 et 714 (Lepcis Magna).

²⁶ *CIL* 14706 = 25746?; 14707, 25706, 27746; *ILAf* 464.

²⁷ *CIL* 25539, 25541, 26410; il n'y a pas d'Aemilii, jusqu'à présent, à Thibar, autre établissement marien connu.

²⁸ *CIL* 1589, 27427 (deux fois). Sur Mustis, voir A. BESCHAOUCH, *Mustitana, Karthago* 14 (1965-1966) [1968], p. 117-224.

²⁹ J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Ubique Populus* (n. 9), p. 126.

³⁰ Ainsi que l'a noté J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Ubique Populus* (n. 9), p. 122, la tribu Aemilia est celle de Meuania. Or c'est la seule cité appartenant à cette tribu, en Italie, où est mentionné le gentilice Aemilius, *CIL* XI 5076: Aemilia, l., Salvia. L'existence d'une colonisation marienne est contestée par P.A. BRUNT, *Italian Manpower*, Oxford 1971, p. 577-581.

3. LES AEMILII DES CITÉS CÔTIÈRES DE L'AFRICA

Un troisième pôle rassemblant un certain nombre d'Aemilii existe autour des trois grandes cités côtières de l'Africa proconsularis que sont Utique, Carthage et Hadrumète.

Si l'on est frappé par la rareté des Aemilii à Utique³¹, on les trouve un peu plus nombreux à Carthage³², où l'on en a recensé dix qui s'échelonnent du I^{er} au IV^e siècle, et à Hadrumète où l'on en comptabilise dix également, datés du I^{er} au III^e siècle³³.

Hormis l'affranchi M. Aemilius Epagathus (*BCTH* 1928-1929, p. 659), qui a vécu à la fin du I^{er} siècle³⁴, et M. Aemilius Rusticus M[a]gonianus (*AE* 1968, 631), dont le surnom est d'origine punique³⁵, les autres personnages porteurs du gentilice Aemilius ne sont pas particulièrement indicatifs³⁶. Dans le cas précis d'Hadrumète et peut-être à Utique³⁷, il s'agit probablement de descendants d'immigrants romano-italiens et d'affranchis, à l'origine liés à des Aemilii de Délos. Mais on ne peut exclure non plus une romanisation d'indigènes par l'entremise du triumvir³⁸.

4. LES AEMILII DE L'ANCIENNE AFRICA NOVA

— *Les Aemilii de Sicca Veneria et de ses environs*

A Sicca Veneria et dans ses environs immédiats on a recensé 53 porteurs de ce gentilice, dont 6 Marcus. En dehors de Lambèse, qui en tant que camp militaire a une situation particulière et de Thibilis, en Cirtéenne, qui en révèlent un nombre supérieur, c'est l'un des sites où les Aemilii sont les plus nombreux.

³¹ *CIL* 25395, M. Aemilius Irenaeus (datée des II^e-III^e siècles). Le surnom est grec, *Irena-Irenaeus*.

³² *CIL* 12672, 12813, 12216, 13235, 13791, 24537, 24617, 24945; *BCTH* 1928-1929, p. 659; *AE* 1987, 12.

³³ *CIL* 61, 22929, 22930 (deux fois), 22931, 22932; *BCTH* 1902, p. CLXXXII, pour un Aemilianus; L. FOUCHER, *Hadrumetum*, p. 371 (inédite): Aemilia Bonifacia; p. 335: Aemilia Flora.

³⁴ Le surnom est grec et il pourrait illustrer les liens entre ces Aemilii et ceux d'Orient à la fin de la République.

³⁵ L'inscription, selon la forme des lettres, est datable du I^{er} siècle, L. FOUCHER, *Hadrumetum*, p. 47 et pl. VII.

³⁶ Il y a huit femmes sur les vingt inscriptions recensées sur les deux sites.

³⁷ J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Ubique Populus* (n. 9), p. 80-81: ainsi pourrait être expliqué le surnom Irenaeus (*CIL* 25395).

³⁸ J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Ubique Populus* (n. 9), p. 81 et 89.

SICCA VENERIA

Aemil[- - -]	<i>CIL</i> 15900	I ^{er} s.?
M. Aemil[ius]	<i>CIL</i> 1707	I ^{er} s.
M. Aemilius [- - -]	<i>CIL</i> 15903	
M. Aemilius [- - -]	<i>CIL</i> 15903	II ^e -III ^e s.
L. Aemilius Adiutor	<i>CIL</i> 15901	
M. Aemilius Adiutor	<i>CIL</i> 27583	II ^e -III ^e s.
C. Aemilius Arrator (<i>sic</i>)	<i>BCTH</i> 1930-1931, p. 72	I ^{er} s.
C. Aemilius Atho	<i>CIL</i> 1657	II ^e -III ^e s.
Aemilius Donatus	<i>CIL</i> 1658	II ^e - III ^e s.
C. Aemilius Fe[lix]	<i>CIL</i> 15903	
C. Aemilius Fronto	<i>CIL</i> 15904	II ^e -III ^e s.
C. Aemilius [F]usci[nus]	<i>CIL</i> 15905	II ^e -III ^e s.
Aemilius Gem(i)nus Primus	<i>CIL</i> 15906	II ^e s.
P. Aemilius Germanu[s]	<i>CIL</i> 27706	II ^e -III ^e s.
Aemili(us) [G]udulus	<i>CIL</i> 15902	II ^e -III ^e s.
[A]emilius Iul(ius) Cassius Donatus	<i>CIL</i> 1636 = 15831	IV ^e s.
C. Aem(ilius), P. [f.], Littio	<i>CIL</i> 1660	II ^e -III ^e s.
[Ae]milius Marti[alis]	<i>CIL</i> 27584	
Aemilius, [-] f., Quir., Optatus	<i>CIL</i> 15907	
L. Aemili[us] Optatus	<i>CIL</i> 15908	
L. Aemilius [-]f., Quir., Optatus	<i>CIL</i> 1659	
C. Aem(ilius) P[olittio?]	<i>CIL</i> 1660 = 15837	II ^e -III ^e s.
L. Aemilius, P. f., Quir., Proculus	<i>CIL</i> 15909	II ^e -III ^e s.
L. Aemilius Pudens	<i>CIL</i> 15910	
C. Aemilius Rogatus	<i>CIL</i> 15911	
M. Aemilius, M. f., Saturninus	<i>CIL</i> 27584 a	
L. Aemilius Valentinus	<i>CIL</i> 27585	
Q. Aemilius Victor	<i>CIL</i> 27586	
Aemilia A[- - -]	<i>CIL</i> 1661	II ^e -III ^e s.
Aemilia, Arc(h)ip[t]olemi [f.?]]	<i>CIL</i> 15909	II ^e -III ^e s.
Aemilia Bassula	<i>CIL</i> 15913	II ^e -III ^e s.
Aemilia Berech	<i>CIL</i> 15914	II ^e -III ^e s.
Aemilia [B]erecthi[na]	<i>CIL</i> 1662	II ^e -III ^e s.
Aemilia Donata	<i>CIL</i> 15916	II ^e -III ^e s.
Aemilia, Q. f., Flora	<i>CIL</i> 15917	II ^e -III ^e s.
Aemilia, Q. fil., Gala	<i>CIL</i> 15915	II ^e -III ^e s.
A[e]milia Ianuaria	<i>CIL</i> 15918	II ^e -III ^e s.
[A]emilia, Q. f., [I]ouentil[I]a	<i>CIL</i> 15919	II ^e -III ^e s.
Aemilia Ma[- - -]	<i>CIL</i> 15920	II ^e -III ^e s.
Aemilia N[- - -]ra	<i>CIL</i> 1768	III ^e -IV ^e s.
Aemilia, peregrini filia (<i>sic</i>)	<i>CIL</i> 15912	III ^e -IV ^e s.
Aemilia Rogata	<i>CIL</i> 27563 b	II ^e -III ^e s.
ENVIRONS DE SICCA		
Aemilius Donnus Iunior	<i>CIL</i> 16262	II ^e -III ^e s.
[A]emilius Felix Toneianus	<i>CIL</i> 16283	II ^e -III ^e s.

Aemilia [- - -]ria ³⁹	<i>BCTH</i> 1926, p. CLXXVI, 3	II ^e -III ^e s.
Aemilia Secunda ⁴⁰	<i>BCTH</i> 1926, p. CLXXVI, 4	II ^e -III ^e s.
Aemilia Siso(i)	<i>CIL</i> 16271	?
UCUBI		
M. Aemilius Sempronius	<i>CIL</i> 15613	
CASTELLUM [---] (Nebeur)		
P. Aemilius Modestus	<i>CIL</i> 15729	II ^e -III ^e s.
Q. Aemilius Rufus	<i>CIL</i> 15730	II ^e -III ^e s.
Q. Aemilius Saturninus	<i>CIL</i> 15731	II ^e -III ^e s.
KACER ARBIA (près de Kalaat-Es-Senam)		
C. Aemilius, P. f., Quir., Victor	<i>BCTH</i> 1932-33, p. 143, n° 20	I ^{er} s.
MASCULULA		
Aemilia Marcia	<i>BCTH</i> 1932-33, p. 143, n° 22	II ^e -III ^e s.

Peu d'inscriptions de Sicca remontent au I^{er} siècle⁴¹; pour l'essentiel elles sont toutes datables des II^e et III^e siècles. Cependant les Aemilii de cette cité n'ont jamais fait l'objet d'une étude approfondie, même de la part de J.-M. Lassère qui s'était davantage intéressé, il est vrai, à distinguer parmi les 162 gentilices reconnus, ceux qui avaient pu faire partie d'une déduction depuis la Cirtéenne⁴².

Or il s'avère que si, parmi ces Aemilii, il faut comptabiliser des descendants de Romano-Italiens, hommes d'affaires et affranchis de la première moitié du I^{er} siècle⁴³, il en est d'autres qui doivent certainement leur gentilice au triumvir. On notera ainsi la présence de surnoms, quoique peu fréquents, d'origine indigène: Gudulus (*CIL* 15902), Berech (*CIL* 19914), [B]erechti[na], (*CIL* 1662), ou encore cette Aemilia, *peregrini filia* (*CIL* 27563b).

Le constat d'une forte présence d'Aemilii est lié au fait que Sicca a pu être la capitale de l'Africa *noua*⁴⁴ avant la réunion des deux Afriques

³⁹ Inscription trouvée à 17 km à l'est du Kef, près du croisement de la route de Tunis avec celle de Jendouba.

⁴⁰ Même provenance.

⁴¹ *CIL* 1707; *BCTH* 1930-1932, p. 72.

⁴² J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Ubique Populus* (n. 9), p. 216-217, avait d'ailleurs obtenu un résultat tout à fait éclairant.

⁴³ Voir les témoignages de Salluste: il y avait, dès la fin du II^e siècle avant notre ère, des Italiens à Vaga, *Bell. Iug.* 67.1; 66, 67; probablement à Sicca, *Bell. Iug.* 56: le blé que Marius comptait y trouver avait probablement été acheté et stocké par des marchands italiens.

⁴⁴ Voir l'hypothèse de P. SALAMA, *Le milliaire archaïque de Lorbeus, Mélanges de Carthage* 1964-1965, p.97-115.

entre les mains du triumvir M. Aemilius Lépide, sans que l'on sache d'ailleurs réellement si ces deux provinces n'en formaient qu'une⁴⁵. Dans le souci de renforcer le pôle de romanisation que représentait Sicca Veneria à l'est de l'Africa *noua*, tandis que Cirta en était un autre à l'ouest, pendant le bref gouvernement de P. Sittius et après sa disparition, en 44, la présence de ces Aemilii serait un argument en faveur d'un octroi par Lépide de la citoyenneté romaine à des autochtones.

— *Les Aemilii de Simitthus et de Bulla Regia*

A Simitthus⁴⁶, on n'a relevé jusqu'à présent que trois Aemilii⁴⁷ dont un M. Aemilius, M(arci) f(ilius), Primus, daté du I^{er} siècle de notre ère⁴⁸.

A Bulla Regia⁴⁹ ont été recensés neuf Aemilii⁵⁰, dont un Marcus Aemilius Fortunatus, daté des II^e-III^e siècles (*CIL* 14475).

Mais il faut bien se rendre à l'évidence, rien ne permet d'affirmer ici, qu'*a priori*, Lépide ait joué un rôle dans l'expansion de ce gentilice. Pourtant il a eu des liens étroits avec la région de Simitthus-Bulla Regia, sur la rive gauche du Bagrada.

La dédicace à Lépide, retrouvée à Thabraca, a été gravée en effet sur du marbre numidique de Simitthus⁵¹, ce même marbre jaune, veiné de violet, qui avait déjà été utilisé par son père, le consul de 78 avant notre ère, pour paver les seuils de sa maison à Rome⁵² et qui avait été aussi employé pour élever en l'honneur de César cette *columna prope uiginti pedum lapidis Numidici* sur le Forum⁵³. On a suggéré, avec raison semble-t-il, une relation étroite entre la *gens Aemilia* et l'*officina regia* de Simitthus⁵⁴. Les Aemilii sont des importateurs privilégiés de ce matériau et la nomination de Lépide à la tête des deux provinces africaines serait la concrétisation d'une demande personnelle au lendemain de la

⁴⁵ Dion XLVIII 23; Appien, *B.C.* V 75; S. GSELL, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* VIII, p. 194-195; P. ROMANELLI, *Storia delle province romane dell' Africa*, p. 147-148; T.R.S. BROUGHTON, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* II, p. 387, 391, 396, 399, 400.

⁴⁶ Cette cité est une colonie fondée par Auguste, voir J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Remarques sur le peuplement de la Colonia Iulia Augusta Numidica Simitthus*, *AntAfr* 16 (1980), p. 27-44.

⁴⁷ *CIL* 14605, 14616, 25652. A noter un Aemilianus, *CIL* 14615.

⁴⁸ *CIL* 25552 = J.-M. LASSÈRE, *AntAfr* 16 (1980), p. 35.

⁴⁹ Y. THÉBERT, *MEFRA* 85 (1973), p. 247-312.

⁵⁰ *CIL* 14475, 14476, 14477, 14478 (deux fois), 25539, 25540, 25541; *BCTH* 1946-1949, p. 179, 14.

⁵¹ *AE* 1959, 77. Deux Aemilii sont attestés à Thabraca: *ILAP* 603.

⁵² Plin., *H.N.* XXXVI 8.49.

⁵³ Suétone, *Diu. Iul.* 85.2.

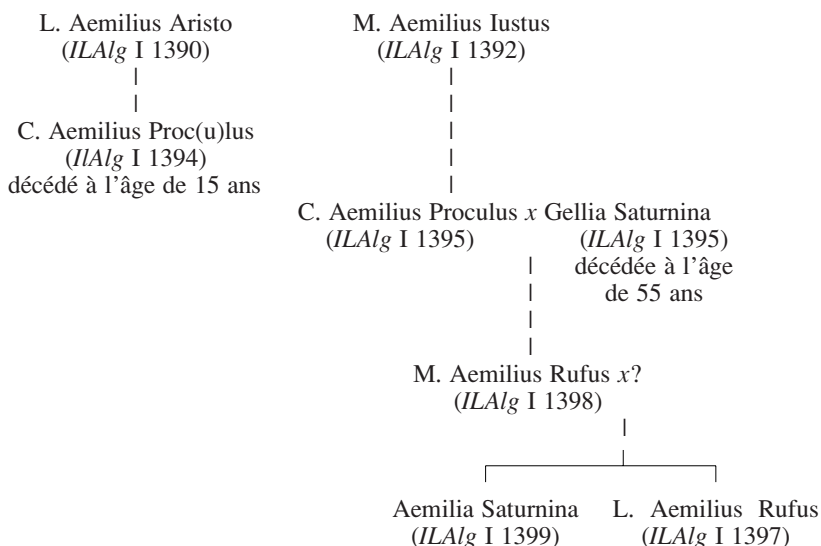
⁵⁴ M. GAGGIOTTI, *L'importazione del marmo numidico a Roma in epoca tardo-repubblicana*, *L'Africa Romana* 4 (1987), p. 201-213.

guerre de Pérouse⁵⁵ accordée par Octave. Mais en obtenant ainsi satisfaction, Lépide devenait 'l'homme-lige' d'Octave.

Il aurait alors trouvé sur place, dans cette partie de l'Afrique du Nord, une audience favorable à ses desseins politiques⁵⁶ — renforcer son pouvoir de triumvir — et des moyens économiques pour les mettre en œuvre.

— *Les Aemilii de Thubursicu Numidarum*

A Thubursicu Numidarum⁵⁷, on a relevé dix-huit inscriptions mentionnant ce gentilice⁵⁸ dont sept sont datables du I^{er} siècle de notre ère⁵⁹. Pourtant parmi les trois Aemilius qui sont prénommés Marcus, un seul est du I^{er} siècle⁶⁰. Même s'il y a de fortes présomptions pour que des Aemilii de cette cité soient redevables de leur nom au triumvir, il est difficile cependant de l'affirmer avec certitude⁶¹.



⁵⁵ Dion XLVIII 20.4, 23.5; Appien, *B.C.* V 12, 53, 75.

⁵⁶ Voir R.D. WEIGEL, *Lepidus Reconsidered*, *AClass* 17 (1974), p. 67-73.

⁵⁷ Cette cité indigène a été élevée au rang de municipes par Trajan entre 100 et 117: *ILAlg* II 1240; J. GASCOU, *La politique municipale de l'Empire romain en Afrique proconsulaire de Trajan à Septime Sévère*, Rome 1972, p. 104-106, envisage la date de 113.

⁵⁸ *ILAlg* I 1389-1403, 1407, 1437, 1470, 1606 = *CIL* 4900, 4901, 4903 (=17150), 4904, 4905, 4906, 4908, 4909, 4910, 5038, 5062.

⁵⁹ *CIL* 4900 = *ILAlg* I 1390; 4901 = *ILAlg* I 1394; 4902 = *ILAlg* I 1397; 4903 = *ILAlg* I 1398; 4904 = *ILAlg* I 1392; *ILAlg* I 1395, 1399.

⁶⁰ *CIL* 4904 = *ILAlg* I 1392: M. Aemilius Iustus.

⁶¹ On notera cependant un Aemilius, Baricis f(ilius) (*ILAlg* I 1389) incontestablement d'origine indigène.

A partir de stèles retrouvées ensemble, on arrive à reconstituer le *stemma* d'une famille sur trois générations, au moins, établies à cheval sur le I^{er} et le début du II^e siècle après notre ère, et qui du fait de son ancienneté pourrait bien avoir reçu la *ciuitas* de Lépide.

Il est possible que l'époux de Gellia Saturnina⁶², C. Aemilius Proculus, se rattache d'une quelconque façon à L. Aemilius Aristo (*ILAlg* I 1390) dont le fils C. Aemilius Proc(u)lus (*ILAlg* I 1394) présente les mêmes *praenomen* et *cognomen*. Mais il ne peut être confondu avec son homonyme en raison de son épitaphe *u(ixit) an(nis) XV*. Ce qui ne lui aurait guère laissé de temps pour se marier et avoir un fils.

Cette famille s'étend alors sur cinq, voire six génération et remonte plus haut dans le I^{er} siècle, car, sur ces stèles, on ne trouve pas d'invocation aux Mânes.

— *Les Aemilii de Madaure*

A Madaure⁶³, vingt-cinq Aemilii ont été recensés⁶⁴, mais datés des II^e-III^e siècles, les inscriptions qui les mentionnent ne laissent rien apparaître d'une éventuelle action de M. Aemilius Lépide dans l'octroi de la *ciuitas* à un certain nombre d'indigènes.

Cependant le personnage qui porte le nom de M. Aemilius Setinus (*ILAlg* I 2241) est de souche romaine ancienne puisque ce *cognomen* est très rare en Afrique du Nord⁶⁵ et qu'il est attesté sous la République, dans le Latium, dans la cité de Setia dont les habitants sont dits Setini⁶⁶. D'ailleurs, à propos de cet Aemilius on peut reconstituer aussi un *stemma* partiel:

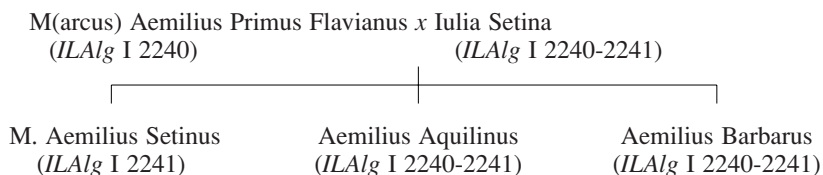
⁶² Elle est probablement parente de Q. Gellius Secundus, *CIL* 4936 = 17182 = *ILAlg* I 1381, sur une inscription bilingue latino-néopunique de Thubursicu Numidarum, conservée au Musée du Louvre.

⁶³ Madaure est une colonie de vétérans fondée par un empereur flavien sur le site d'une cité indigène très ancienne, *ILAlg* I 2152; Apulée, *Apologie* 24; J. GASCOU, *La politique municipale* (n. 57), p. 32-33.

⁶⁴ *ILAlg* I, 2065, 2075 bis, 2210, 2240 (trois fois), 2241, 2255 (= *CIL* 16880), 2256 (trois fois), 2257 (deux fois), 2258 (= *CIL* 4689), 2259 (= *CIL* 4690), 2260 (= *CIL* 4694 deux fois), 2261 (deux fois), 2291, 1376 (trois fois), 2782, 2783, 4016 bis.

⁶⁵ *CIL* 4748 = *ILAlg* I 2643, de Madaure également sur une dédicace funéraire; *CIL* 22972 d'Hadrumète, L. Maginius Setinus; cf. I. KAJANTO, *The Latin Cognomina*, p. 183.

⁶⁶ Tite-Live VII 42, VIII 1; également, VIII 3, mention du préteur L. Annius Setinus; voir *CIL* X, 1, p. 640. Setia se trouve au sud de Rome sur le territoire des Volsques en bordure des Marais Pontins. Le gentilice Aemilius est présent à Setia sous l'Empire: *CIL* X 6464 [Ae]milia Gemella et T. Aemilius Faustus. Sur Madaure et sa romanisation ancienne, voir J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Ubique Populus* (n. 9), p. 252-254.



Dans ce cas précis, on envisagera donc la possibilité d'un peuplement d'Italiens venus du Latium, peut-être avec les vétérans de l'époque des Flaviens ou, plus tôt, à l'époque augustéenne, puisque le *cognomen* Setina est porté par une Iulia dans le cadre d'une immigration partielle d'Italiens dans cette région.

Sur l'ancien territoire de l'Africa *noua*, il faut évoquer encore un certain nombre de centres où ont été retrouvés des inscriptions mentionnant des Aemilii. Ainsi à Thagaste, on a recensé trois Aemilii⁶⁷, de même à Thagura⁶⁸, deux à Ciuitas [---] (Guelaa Bou Atfan)⁶⁹ et à Henchir el Hammam⁷⁰, six à Calama⁷¹ et trois à Hippo Regius⁷². Mais de ces textes-là, il n'y a pas d'enseignement particulier à tirer pour notre étude.

— Les Aemilii de Cirtéenne

L'ancien territoire de P. Sittius, devenu sous l'Empire, à partir de l'extrême fin du I^{er} siècle ou tout au début du II^e siècle une *contributio*⁷³, a connu une romanisation particulièrement précoce, illustrée par le très grand nombre de porteurs des gentilices Sittius et Iulius sans que l'on puisse déterminer d'ailleurs qui de César ou d'Auguste relèvent ces Iulii⁷⁴.

⁶⁷ ILAlg I 954 = CIL 17260; ILAlg I 891 = CIL 5158; BCTH 1936-1937, p. 105 n° 8.

⁶⁸ ILAlg I 1044 (deux fois), 1049 = CIL 16852.

⁶⁹ ILAlg I 581, 582.

⁷⁰ ILAlg I 760, 800 = CIL 17089.

⁷¹ ILAlg I 198 = CIL 5037; ILAlg I 332 = CIL 5388; ILAlg I 333 = CIL 5389; ILAlg I 414 = CIL 5390; ILAlg I 480 = CIL 5459; ILAlg I 481 = CIL 234.

⁷² ILAlg I 34-35 = CIL 5235 et 5239; AE 1965, 234.

⁷³ CIL 8210; pour une synthèse rapide, voir F. JACQUES, *Les cités de l'Occident romain*, Paris 1990, p. 60-63.

⁷⁴ Cf. M. DONDIN-PAYRE, *Recherches sur un aspect de la romanisation de l'Afrique du nord: l'expansion de la citoyenneté romaine jusqu'à Hadrien*, *AntAfr* 17 (1981), p. 93-132 (p. 105-107); R.C. KNAPP, *The Origins of Provincial Prosopography in The West*, *AncSoc* 9 (1978), p. 187-222, notamment p. 199-200 et tableau p. 216. Mais le recensement et les pourcentages par rapport aux autres gentilices ne sont effectués pour Cirta-ville qu'à partir du CIL VIII. Or, il fallait tenir compte des ILAlg II et de l'ensemble du territoire de Cirta, ce qui aurait pu faire apparaître la position particulière de Thibilis. Cf. notre thèse, *L'Etat de P. Sittius et la 'Numidie cirtéenne'*, Paris IV-Sorbonne, Paris 1989, première partie.

Or il s'avère que le recensement des Aemilii est aussi particulièrement fructueux puisque notre recherche, en comprenant Cuicul et sa région, en a dénombré au moins 200.

Répartition des Aemilii sur le territoire de Cirta et de Cuicul

Centres urbains	Nombre	Marcus et fils de Marcus	I ^{er} s.	Fin I ^{er} – déb. II ^e s	II ^e – III ^e s.	III ^e s.
Cirta	21			10	7	2
Chullu	1				1	
Mileu	3				3	
Rusicade	8	1		2	5	
Arsacal	3				2	
Caldis	7	1		5	2	
Cast. Eleph.	2				2	
Celtianis	34	3			25	
Ksar Mahidjiba	3	1	2		1	
Mastar	2				2	
Phua	4	1			4	
Sigus	19	1	1	3	15	
Sila	5	1			4	1
Tiddis	8	3	1	1	6	
Thibilis	67	38	2	31	30	1
S-E Cirtéenne	10	2		1	9	
Cuicul	33	1			3	
TOTAL	200	57	6	62	121	4

Ce tableau a pu être dressé à partir des indications fournies par J.-M. Lassère dans son étude sur la *Chronologie des épitaphes païennes de l'Africa* et notamment à Cirta. Compte tenu de la proximité entre Cirta et les différents *castella* qui faisaient partie de la *pertica* de cette cité, on peut déduire une certaine influence de la capitale de la Cirtéenne en matière de monuments funéraires et de formulaires épigraphiques⁷⁵. Il reste que sept textes ne peuvent être datés ou sont inclassables.

De tous les sites cirtéens quatre seulement ont fourni un nombre relativement important d'Aemilii. Il s'agit de :

- Cirta, 21 Aemilii sur environ 1300 noms;
- Celtianis, 34 Aemilii sur près de 1200 noms;
- Sigus, 19 Aemilii sur environ 400 noms;
- Thibilis, 67 Aemilii sur plus de 1300 noms (en gros, 210 gentilices).

⁷⁵ J.-M. LASSÈRE, *AntAfr* 7 (1973), p. 108-119 et tableau p. 120-121.

On peut être étonné, en revanche, qu'à Tiddis où ont été recensés 500 noms environ, il n'y ait que 8 Aemilii seulement, dont 3 Marcus toutefois.

Bien évidemment, ainsi que dans une contribution antérieure à l'histoire de la romanisation de l'Afrique du Nord nous en avons fait l'observation⁷⁶, on est frappé, à première vue, par le nombre relativement élevé d'Aemilii à Thibilis, petite bourgade de l'est du territoire de Cirta.

Cependant en reprenant nos premières recherches, dûment complétées, voire corrigées, nous sommes en mesure de préciser certains résultats. De fait, si deux inscriptions sont du I^{er} siècle⁷⁷, 31 inscriptions sont datables de la fin du I^{er} siècle et de la première moitié du II^e siècle⁷⁸ et on a relevé 38 Marcus Aemilius ou fils (voire petit-fils) d'un Marcus Aemilius.

Une telle proportion n'apparaît nulle part en Afrique du Nord, si ce n'est pour des Caius Iulius ou des Publius Sittius⁷⁹. Plus que jamais dans ce cas précis, il ressort que Lépide a exercé une influence dans l'octroi de la *ciuitas* à un certain nombre d'habitants de ce centre dont on a ici les descendants ou les affranchis.

Mais il est peut-être un argument supplémentaire à ajouter à ce dossier. Il se pourrait, en effet, que le triumvir ait été lié à M. Vitruvius Mamurra, le constructeur d'un arc à Thibilis⁸⁰. Bien que le nom de ce personnage n'apparaisse pas directement en relation avec M. Aemilius Lépide lors de l'achèvement des Saepta Iulia à Rome⁸¹, il faut rappeler qu'il avait été le *praefectus fabrum* de César et que Lépide avait poursuivi les travaux engagés par le dictateur⁸². On peut donc se poser la question de savoir si Vitruvius Mamurra (s'il s'agit du même personnage) se trouvait en Afrique du Nord avec le *triumvir* lors de son gou-

⁷⁶ F. BERTRANDY, *Karthago* 19 (1977-1978) [1980], p. 87-106.

⁷⁷ *ILAlg* II 4746, 4780.

⁷⁸ *ILAlg* II 4745, 4777, 4747, 4750, 4752, 4760, 4761 (= *CIL* 18922), 4763, 4765, 4767, 4768, 4769, 4770 (= *CIL* 5539), 4771, 4772 (= *CIL* 18946), 4774, 4796, 4782, 4783, 4916 (= *CIL* 5546), 4785, 4786, 4788, 4789, 4790, 4791, 4792, 4795, 4794 (= *CIL* 18524), 4431. Les critères de datation sont ici fondés sur la forme de la stèle, sommet arrondi, l'absence de l'invocation aux dieux Mânes.

⁷⁹ Voir par exemple les cas de Cirta ou de Celtianis.

⁸⁰ *ILAlg* II 4712 = *CIL* 18913.

⁸¹ Dion Cassius LIII 23.

⁸² Sur ces rapprochements et hypothèses voir R.E.A. PALMER, *On the Track of the Ignoble Athenaeum* N.S. 61 (1983), p. 343-361; M. GAGGIOTTI, *L'Africa Romana* 4 (1987), p. 210.

vernement et s'il n'a pas agi avec lui pour donner à Thibilis cette importance que révèle déjà l'épigraphie 'aemilienne' de cette cité.

En dépit d'un nombre d'inscriptions moins significatif, on est tenté d'avancer le même raisonnement pour Sigus d'autant qu'on peut soupçonner l'intervention d'un gouverneur précédent, C. Sallustius Crispus⁸³. On a recensé, en effet, une vingtaine d'inscriptions évoquant ce gentilice⁸⁴, dont un C. Sallustius Crispus tout à fait décisif⁸⁵.

*

* *

Il est temps maintenant de tirer les enseignements de cette enquête.

(1) Il apparaît tout d'abord que le bilan de cette recherche est un peu décevant. Pour de nombreux sites, en particulier en Proconsulaire, où ont été recensés des Aemilii, il n'est pas possible d'indiquer avec précision la date de leur arrivée en Afrique du Nord ou d'affirmer si on a affaire à des indigènes ayant reçu les *tria nomina* de magistrats romains et, parmi eux, en particulier de M. Aemilius Lévide.

(2) Tous les Aemilii d'Afrique du Nord ne procèdent pas du *triumvir*. Certains Aemilii, en effet, sont venus dans cette province à la fin du II^e siècle, peut-être avec Marius⁸⁶. D'autres ont pu faire partie de ces Romano-Italiens dont l'activité marchande a permis à Rome de prendre pied, à partir du début du II^e siècle, en Africa et en Numidie⁸⁷. Avec des

⁸³ *Bell. Afr.* 97.1; Appien, *B.C.* II 100; Dion XLIII 9; T.R.S. BROUGHTON, *MRR* II, p. 309.

⁸⁴ *ILAlg* II 6749 (deux fois), 6743, 6747 (deux fois), 6748 (deux fois), 6749 (deux fois), 6750, 6751, 6752 (deux fois), 6753 (cinq fois), 6754. Voir J. KOLENDO, *C. Sallustius Crispus, premier gouverneur de l'Africa nova et la dispersion géographique du gentilice Sallustius en Afrique*, *AArchSlov* 28 (1977), p. 255-277.

⁸⁵ *ILAlg* II 6753, datée cependant du II^e siècle.

⁸⁶ Voir les Aemilii dans les établissements mariens de Thuburnica, d'Ucchi maius et de Mustis; pour un aperçu commode, J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Ubique Populus* (n. 9), p. 120-128. Certains d'entre eux seraient peut-être Ombriens. La variété des tribules dans un centre comme Thuburnica s'explique par le fait que Marius a emmené avec lui des citoyens romains d'Italie qu'il a établis en tant que vétérans.

⁸⁷ En Afrique, il n'y a guère de témoignages de ces *negotiatores* comparables à ceux dont on dispose pour l'Orient méditerranéen aux II^e et I^{er} siècles avant notre ère. Voir cependant à Carthage, avant 46, Polybe XXXVI 7; Appien, *Lib.* 92: à la fin du II^e siècle, voir Salluste, *Bell. Jug.* 21.2 et 26.1 à Cirta; 47.1 à Vaga; 44.5 et 65.4 et Velleius Paterculus II 11.2 à Utique; au I^{er} siècle, César, *Bell. ciu.* II 25.6 à Utique; *Bell. afric.* 36.2 à Thysdrus. On connaît le nom d'un grand négociant d'Afrique, Herrenius, à l'époque de Cicéron, Cicéron, *Verr.* II 1.14, V 155, qui était originaire de Leptis; cf. Cicéron, *Ad fam.* XII 24.3, 26, 27. Est-ce Lepti minus ou Lepcis magna? Sur ce problème voir J.-M. LASSÈRE, dans *ANRW* II 10.2, Berlin-New York 1982, p. 406.

propriétaires terriens ils ont formé parfois des *conuentus*, dont on sait cependant que tous les membres n'étaient pas obligatoirement des citoyens romains⁸⁸.

Dans ce contexte s'inscrit l'hypothèse intéressante, reprise tout récemment par M. Gaggiotti, d'une clientèle africaine de la *gens Aemilia*⁸⁹. Cette illustre famille n'apparaît au premier plan à Rome, qu'après la chute de la monarchie et en même temps que d'autres *gentes*, celles des Claudii, des Cornelii, des Fabii ou des Valerii⁹⁰. Sous la République, à des époques diverses, chacune a connu son heure de gloire. En ce qui concerne les Aemilii, leur *floruit* se situe aux II^e et I^{er} siècle avant notre ère.

À l'intérieur de cette famille, à partir de la fin du II^e siècle, une branche est constituée de longue date par les Aemilii Scauri. M. Aemilius Scaurus, consul en 115, a joué un rôle important dans la guerre contre Jugurtha en cédant, si l'on en croit Salluste, à l'argent du roi numide⁹¹. Il est possible que, durant son séjour en Afrique (112-111), cet aristocrate ait noué des contacts sur place. Ses affranchis doivent être comptés, par la suite, parmi les *negotiatores* romano-italiens qui s'implantèrent dans cette région.

En outre, son fils Aemilius Scaurus fut, en 58 avant notre ère, le premier à introduire à Rome des animaux exotiques, et notamment des panthères africaines⁹², qui n'ont pu être acquises, semble-t-il, qu'avec de solides relations en Afrique du Nord.

Quant à l'autre branche de la *gens Aemilia*, celle des Aemilii Lepidi, il semble au contraire que son attention était davantage attirée par l'importation du marbre puisque le père du triumvir, M. Aemilius Lépide, fut le premier à introduire à Rome le marbre numidique de Simitthus pour orner le seuil de sa maison⁹³.

⁸⁸ Sur les *conuentus* en général et d'Afrique en particulier, P.A. BRUNT, *Italian Manpower* (n. 30) p. 220-224; J.-M. LASSÈRE, *L'organisation des contacts de population dans l'Afrique romaine sous le Haut Empire*, dans ANRW II 10.2, Berlin-New York 1982, p. 405-414, qui fait le point sur la nature des *conuentus* au I^{er} siècle avant notre ère.

⁸⁹ M. GAGGIOTTI, *L'Africa Romana* 4 (1987), p. 208-209.

⁹⁰ M.A. LEVI, *Sul patriziato romano*, PP 45 (1990), p. 431-442.

⁹¹ Salluste, *Bell. Jug.* 15.4, 25.4, 28-29, 40.4.

⁹² Pline, *H.N.* VIII 26.96, 17.6; voir G. VILLE, *La gladiature en occident des origines à la mort de Domitien*, Rome 1981, p. 90-91.

⁹³ Pline, *H.N.* XXXVI 8.49. Il s'agit du consul de 78 dont la maison, à son époque, était considérée comme la plus belle de Rome: Pline, *H.N.* XXXVI 24.109.

Ces précisions permettent donc de dégager l'influence qu'exerçait la *gens Aemilia* en Afrique, tout en affirmant la part de chaque branche dans l'octroi de la *ciuitas* entre la fin du II^e siècle et la milieu du I^{er} siècle. Le *triumvir* M. Aemilius Lépidus n'est donc que l'héritier et le propagateur d'une tradition déjà ancienne de sa famille.

(3) La datation des inscriptions qui mentionnent des Aemilii est de ce fait complexe⁹⁴. D'après le matériel épigraphique dont on dispose, il apparaît qu'une infime proportion des textes appartient au I^{er} siècle de notre ère. Ces Aemilii-là pourraient se rattacher soit aux premiers Aemilii venus en Afrique ou à leurs affranchis, soit à ceux qui doivent leur *ciuitas* au *triumvir* M. Aemilius Lépidus. Les Aemilii des II^e et III^e siècles, qui représentent la majorité des inscriptions, ont une origine de plus en plus difficile à préciser puisqu'ils ne sont plus que les descendants lointains des Aemilii républicains.

(4) En dépit de ces réserves, il ne fait pas de doute qu'une partie des Aemilii, ceux qui ont reçu la citoyenneté de Lépidus, s'intercale, dans l'est cirtéen, entre les Sittii et les Iulii⁹⁵. C'est aussi l'illustration de la volonté des premiers gouverneurs de l'Africa *noua* — on l'a vu plus haut pour Salluste à Sigus — d'accentuer la romanisation de certains centres de cette région. Tout en privilégiant quelques sites élevés ainsi à la fonction de pôles de romanisation, les Romains comblaient, peut-être, le vide démographique entre Sicca et Cirta. Ce serait le cas alors de Thibilis, de Madaure, de Thubursicu Numidarum, vieux centres numides dans une région faiblement urbanisée.

(5) A cet égard, la présence du *praenomen* Marcus peut être significative puisque c'est celui du *triumvir*. Pourtant on doit tenir compte aussi que Marcus fait partie avec Caius, Lucius, Publius, Quintus et Titus, des six *praenomina* les plus utilisés dans le monde romain. Il est même l'un des trois *praenomina* qui reviennent le plus souvent avec Lucius et Caius⁹⁶. En outre, il est difficile d'établir à l'intérieur d'une famille,

⁹⁴ On s'est appuyé sur les recherches de J.-M. LASSÈRE, *AntAfr* 7 (1973), p. 7-151, pour les cités de Carthage, Thugga, Cirta. Elles reposent sur la chronologie des monuments funéraires, le formulaire, l'apparition de l'invocation aux dieux Mânes, voir plus particulièrement p. 120-121.

⁹⁵ Cette œuvre avait été pressentie par H.-G. PFLAUM, *Onom. Celtianum* (n. 1), p. 128; ID., *Onom. Cirta* (n. 1), p. 99 [= *Scripta varia* I, p. 89 et p. 163]; à la suite, J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Ubique Populus* (n. 9), p. 201; F. BERTRANDY, *Karthago* 19 (1977-1978) [1980], p. 100-106.

⁹⁶ O. SALOMIES, *Die römischen Vornamen. Studien zur römischen Namengebung*, Helsinki 1987, p. 156-158, voir pour la répartition de ces prénoms à Rome et en Italie le tableau p. 158; un Romain sur cinq s'appelle Lucius (p. 34).

lequel de ces prénoms est héréditaire et lequel sert à distinguer seulement un frère d'un autre.

(6) Le recensement et la cartographie des Aemilii d'Afrique du Nord permettent de dégager quelques observations majeures. Ainsi la répartition géographique de ce gentilice révèle plusieurs groupes distincts (voir cartes 1 et 2).

Si on élargit, en effet, la réflexion à l'ensemble du territoire de l'ancienne Africa *noua*, on se trouve en présence, en gros entre la région de Thugga et l'Ampsaga (oued el Kebir), d'un fort noyau d'Aemilii, plus important que ce qu'on a pu observer pour l'Afrique proconsulaire et la Tripolitaine. Il est alors permis de penser que, si on ne peut exclure la présence au départ d'Aemilii romano-italiens, venus dès la fin du II^e siècle avant notre ère, une bonne part des Aemilii d'Afrique du Nord procède d'une politique d'octroi de la citoyenneté romaine par Lépide, le *triumvir*. Elle pourrait s'être faite à partir de Simitthus, où la *gens Aemilia* avait eu et avait encore des intérêts entre 40 et 36 avant notre ère⁹⁷, et de Sicca peu éloignée après tout de Simitthus. Cependant quand on observe la carte on note, entre Sicca Veneria et Cirta, une assez forte concentration d'Aemilii qui occupent une bande de terre d'environ 60 km de largeur à l'intérieur de l'Afrique du Nord. Ce qui confirme la romanisation de cet espace voulue par la politique augustéenne⁹⁸, politique qui a pu être commencée bien plus tôt, dès l'époque de César ou alors dès celle du *triumvir* Lépide, ouvert comme on sait aux idées des *populares*, d'ailleurs plus par intérêt que par conviction profonde.

D'un autre côté, la carte de la répartition du gentilice Aemilius permet encore de distinguer deux axes dans sa progression en Afrique du Nord:

- L'axe Sufetula-Capsa, mais ici seule Sufetula a révélé plus de cinq porteurs du nom Aemilius, tous datés des II^e-III^e siècles⁹⁹.

⁹⁷ Ainsi s'expliquerait peut-être l'origine et la portée de la dédicace à Lépide retrouvée à Thabraca: la tablette de marbre pourrait avoir été encastrée dans un monument commémoratif en l'honneur de M. Aemilius Lépide et de membres de sa famille à Simitthus. Cf. M. GAGGIOTTI, *L'Africa Romana* 4 (1987), p. 207-209.

⁹⁸ J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Ubique Populus* (n. 9), p. 219-220, carte V, p. 443 et p. 448-449; on relève la prédominance du gentilice Iulius.

⁹⁹ Les Aemilii sont au nombre de huit, *CIL* 11374-11376; *AE* 1957, 206; *BCTH* 1917, p. CXCIX, VIII = *ILAf* 145; *BCTH* n.s. 6 (1970), p. 258 n° 3, p. 264 n° 8, p. 304-305 n° 44; sur l'épigraphie de Sufetula (Sbeitla), voir N. DUVAL, *MEFRA* 101 (1989) 1, p. 403-488 = *AE* 1989, 803-805.

- L'axe Sicca Veneria — Althiburos — Ammaedara — Théveste. Ammaedara fournit neuf Aemilii¹⁰⁰, tous datés des II^e-III^e siècles, sauf une Aemilia¹⁰¹; on notera aussi un Aemilius Aemilianus (AE 1987, 1044).

La situation de Théveste et de sa région avec 18 Aemilii¹⁰² est un peu particulière puisque ce centre a été pendant quelque temps le cantonnement de la III^e légion Auguste¹⁰³. En effet, en raison du brassage de population que représente l'incorporation dans une légion, même si, comme on le sait, le recrutement est de plus en plus local, l'origine de ces Aemilii reste difficile à déterminer.

En Numidie méridionale, on observe la présence diffuse d'Aemilii dans un certain nombre de centres installés sur le piémont de l'Aurès, à Casae, Diana Veteranorum, Lamasba, Niciuibis (N'Gaous), Verecunda, Zarai. Ces deux dernières cités ont respectivement fourni quatre¹⁰⁴ et six Aemilii¹⁰⁵.

Dans cette région il faut évidemment retenir le site de Lambèse où plus d'une centaine d'Aemilii a été recensée, mais bien que les inscriptions soient toutes postérieures au I^{er} siècle de notre ère, les porteurs de ce gentilice mériteraient à eux seuls une étude détaillée¹⁰⁶. On notera aussi six Aemilii à Timgad¹⁰⁷.

Au terme de cette étude, ces remarques nous paraissent devoir éclairer quelque peu l'histoire de l'Afrique du Nord — celle de la période

¹⁰⁰ CIL 211-213, 321 (deux fois), 11552 (deux fois)-11554, 11567 = 23265; AE 1987, 1044.

¹⁰¹ CIL 211-213: Aemilia, Sex. f(ilia), Paca[t]a, datée d'avant 75 de notre ère.

¹⁰² Pour Théveste même, ILAlg I 3017 = CIL 1845 = 16501, 3062, 3103, 3163 (deux fois = CIL 1657, 3164 = CIL 16 573, 3165 = CIL 16572, 3166 = CIL 27860, 3167 = CIL 27861. Pour les environs, ILAlg I 3536 = CIL 2104, 3563 = CIL 2022, 3598 = CIL 2170, 3682, 3810 = CIL 10666, 2856; Libyca 4 (1956), p. 322 n° 3.

¹⁰³ F. DE PACHÈRE, *Les camps de la III^e légion en Afrique au I^{er} siècle de l'Empire*, CRAI 1916, p. 273-286. Sur les problèmes posés par le camp de la III^e légion à Théveste et l'élévation de cette cité au rang de colonie par Trajan, voir J. GASCOU, *La politique municipale* (n. 57), p. 91-97. Y. LE BOHEC, *La III^e légion Auguste*, Paris 1989, p. 353-354 et 361-362. On n'a pas retrouvé trace du camp dont on sait qu'il a été occupé entre 75 et 115.

¹⁰⁴ CIL 4210, 4228, 4229, 4256. On remarquera cependant la présence de trois Marcus.

¹⁰⁵ CIL 4532, 4533 (deux fois), 4534, 4555, 4568.

¹⁰⁶ Sur les Aemilii de Lambèse, Y. LE BOHEC, *op. cit.* (n. 103), Paris 1989, indices, p. 610.

¹⁰⁷ CIL 17866; L. LESCHI, *Recherches*, p. 259; AE 1960, 108; AE 1934, 36; BCTH 1946-1947, p. 232,2. Il faut signaler aussi le grand nombre d'inscriptions qui mentionnent le légat de la III^e légion Auguste, de 172-174, M. Aemilius Macer Saturninus (par ex., CIL 17869; AE 1917-1918, 49; AE 1938, 143; AE 1967, 565, 574; AE 1985, 880, 880a, etc.).

comprise entre la disparition du royaume massyle de Juba I^{er} (46 avant notre ère) et le début du règne d'Auguste — en montrant l'intérêt que représentait pour Rome la colonisation et la romanisation d'une région accidentée telle que l'était l'ancienne *Africa noua*. Cette politique laisserait clairement entendre que rien n'était fait encore pour la réunion de l'*Africa noua* à l'*Africa uetus* à l'époque du gouvernement de Lépide. Dans le but de se créer une clientèle apte à soutenir ses desseins politiques, le triumvir comptait peut-être s'appuyer sur cette partie de l'Afrique, l'*Africa noua* et sur sa capitale, Sicca.

L'un des aspects du long gouvernement de Lépide, sur lequel les informations manquent cruellement, en l'occurrence sa politique d'octroi de la *ciuitas*, longtemps soupçonnée, se trouverait ainsi un peu mieux étayée.

APPENDICE

MAURETANIE CESARIENNE

— SITIFIS et ses environs où 21 Aemilii sont datés des II^e-III^e siècles¹⁰⁸ à l'exception peut-être de Q. Aemilius, M. f(i)lius), Quir(ina), Iucundus (*CIL* 8541) qui pourrait avoir vécu à la fin du I^{er} siècle et au début du second.

— IOL CAESAREA et ses environs immédiats a fourni 14 inscriptions, mentionnant le gentilice Aemilius. Trois sont datées du I^{er} siècle¹⁰⁹, les autres des II^e et III^e siècles¹¹⁰, avec un M. Aemili[- -] (*CIL* 21016) et une inscription datée du règne de Trajan (*CIL* 20978).

— THUPUSUCTU a donné 10 Aemilii tous datés des II^e-III^e siècles¹¹¹, dont deux personnages membres de la tribu Horatia qui est celle de la cité de Venusia en Italie¹¹².

MAURETANIE TINGITANE

Seul le site de Volubilis révèle un nombre relativement important d'Aemilii, douze en tout, qui se caractérisent par l'absence de la mention du prénom et

¹⁰⁸ Pour Sitifis, *CIL* 8436, 8505, 8519-8523, 8541, 8564, 20384, 20451; *BCTH* 1946-1947, p. 350 n° 11 et 13; *AE* 1972, 720, 745. Pour les environs de Sitifis, *Rec. de la Soc. arch. de Constantine* 34 (1900), p. 268 n° 35, p. 269 n° 37; *CIL* 20303.

¹⁰⁹ *MEFRA* 64 (1952), p. 101 n° 3; *BCTH* 1925, p. CLXXIX n° 11; *CIL* 20938; voir Ph. LEVEAU, *Caesarea de Maurétanie*, Rome 1984, p. 113 et 125.

¹¹⁰ *CIL* 9316, 9422, 9438 (deux fois), 20978, 21016, 21062 (deux fois), 21127, 21173; *AE* 1980, 976 (deux fois); *MEFR* 64, 1952, p. 101 n° 13; *BAA* 6, 1975-1976 [1980], p. 89-165 n° 93 bis; Ph. LEVEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

¹¹¹ *CIL* 8818, 8844-8851; *BCTH* 1934-1935, p. 104 n° 28.

¹¹² *CIL* IX 422. Il pourrait y avoir des colons d'Auguste avec C. et L. Aemilius; cf. J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Ubique Populus* (n. 9), p. 459.

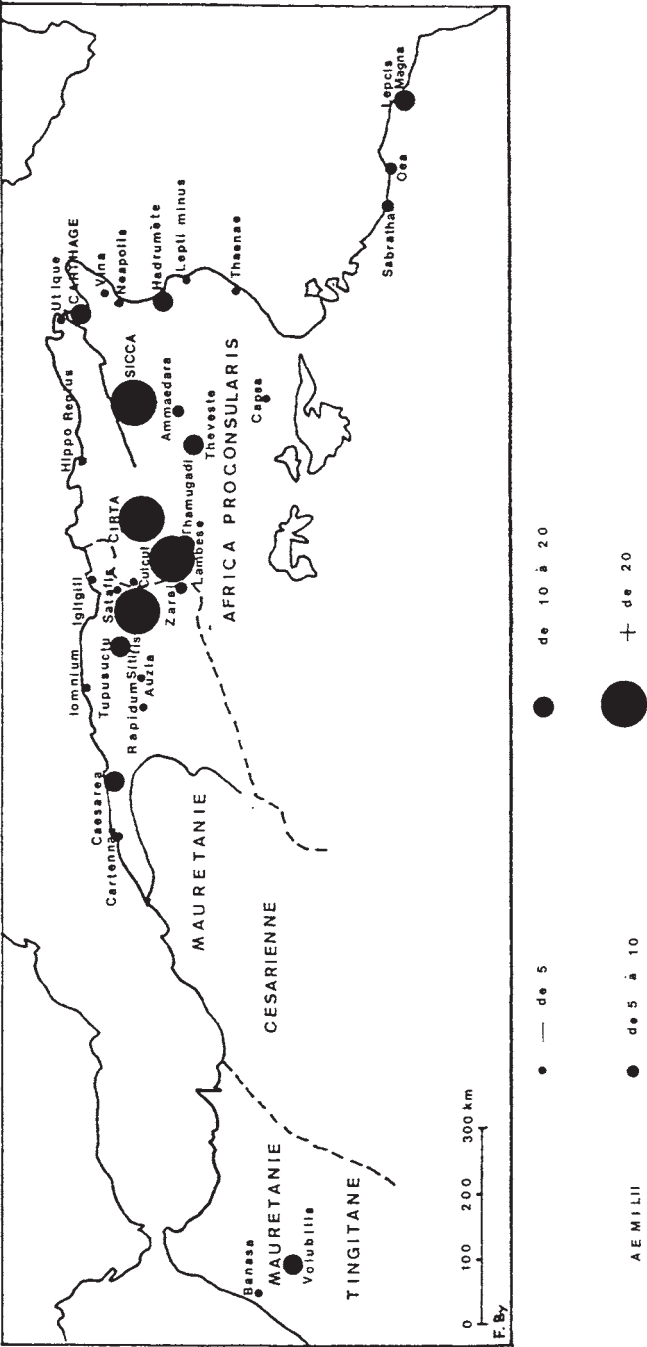
donc par une datation relativement tardive¹¹³. On notera la présence d'une Aemilia, D. f(ilia), Sextina (*IAM* lat. 430) flaminique, et originaire de Vienne, en Narbonnaise.

Université d'Avignon

5 rue Violette, F-84 000 AVIGNON

François BERTRANDY

¹¹³ *IAM* lat. 429 et 504 = *CIL* 21837 (trois fois); *IAM* lat. 430 = *ILAf* 625; *IAM* lat. 458; 499, 3; 499, 7; 516; 517; 518 = *CIL* 21854.



Carte 1 : L'Afrique du Nord romaine
(à la fin du II^e siècle après J.-C.)

VETUSTAS LITIS ... VEHEMENTER ME MOVET

ZUM GRUNDBESITZSTREIT ZWISCHEN FALERIENSES UND FIRMANI*

In den letzten Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts — vermutlich 1599 — wurde in oder bei dem picenischen Dorf Falerone¹, in der Nähe des antiken Falerio, eine ca. 1 Meter hohe und 70 Zentimeter breite Bronzetafel gefunden, die zunächst als Geschenk der Finder in den Besitz des Kardinals Pietro Aldobrandini gelangte und danach auf nicht eindeutig rekonstruierbaren Wegen nach Rom gebracht wurde. Dort war sie aber bereits im Jahre 1721 verschollen. Der Historiker Bartolomeo Borghesi mutmaßte 1839, daß sie vielleicht von Rom aus vor wenigen Jahren in ein portugiesisches Museum überstellt worden sei. Auch die von Kardinal Aldobrandini versprochene Kopie, welche in seinem Auftrag vom Vizegouverneur von Fermo für die Gemeinde Falerone hätte hergestellt werden sollen, ist nicht auffindbar. Der mehrfach überlieferte, fast vollständig erhaltene Text wurde von Th. Mommsen in den neunten Band des *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* aufgenommen². Er fand Eingang in die Kataloge der antiken Rechtsquellen von C.G. Bruns³ und S. Riccobono⁴ sowie in die historischen Quellen-

* Für ihre wertvolle Kritik möchte ich Frau Dr. Anne Kolb, Lörrach, herzlich danken. Sehr verbunden bin ich Frau Anja Schneider M.A., Metz, für die Durchsicht des Manuskripts. Weiterhin gilt mein Dank für ihren juristischen Rat Frau cand. jur. Birgit Kolb, Heidelberg, und besonders Herrn ass. jur. Udo Pawlischta, Pforzheim. Die Arbeit geht auf eine Beschäftigung mit Quellen der flavischen Zeit zurück, die ich zur Zeit im Rahmen eines Forschungsstipendiums auswerte, das mir die Fritz-Thyssen-Stiftung, Köln, freundlicherweise gewährt hat, und der ich an dieser Stelle ebenfalls danken möchte.

Benutzte Abkürzungen (Zeitschriften wie in *L'Année Philologique*):

B.W. JONES, *Domitian: The Emperor Domitian*, London–New York 1992.

O. KARLOWA, *RR I: Römische Rechtsgeschichte I*, Leipzig 1885.

M. KASER, *PR²: Das römische Privatrecht (HdA, III 3.1)*, München 1971².

M. KASER, *ZP: Das römische Zivilprozeßrecht (HdA, III 4)*, München 1966.

A. RUDORFF, *GrInst: Gromatiche Institutionen*, in F. BLUME – K. LACHMANN – A.

RUDORFF, *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser II*, Berlin 1852, S. 227-464.

¹ Das antike Stadtgebiet neben dem modernen Dorf Piane di Falerone liegt heute in der italienischen Provinz Ascoli Piceno in der Region Marche. Die Entfernung zur Provinzhauptstadt beträgt ca. 30 km Luftlinie in nördlicher Richtung; von der adriatischen Küste bei Porto S. Giórgio ist es ebenfalls ca. 30 km entfernt in südwestlicher Richtung gelegen. Die mittelalterliche Siedlung Falerone liegt ca. 2,5 Kilometer von den Siedlungen in der Ebene entfernt in westlicher Richtung auf dem Bergrücken zwischen den Flußtäälern von Tenna und Ete Morto.

² *CIL IX* 5420 und S. 687 mit einer ausführlichen Dokumentation der Fundumstände.

³ C.G. BRUNS, *Fontes iuris romani antiqui I*, Tübingen 1909⁷, S. 255-256 Nr. 82.

sammlungen von F.F. Abbott und A.C. Johnson⁵, M. McCrum und A.G. Woodhead⁶ und R.K. Sherk⁷.

Die Lesung des Textes selbst bereitet keine Schwierigkeiten:

- Imp(erator) Caesar Divi Vespasiani f(ilius)
 [[Domitianus]] Augustus
 pontifex max(imus) trib(unicia) potest(ate) imp(erator) II
 co(n)s(ul) VIII designat(us) VIII p(ater) p(atriae) salutem dicit
- 5 IIIIviris et decurionibus Faleriensium ex Piceno.
 quid constituerim de subsicivis cognita causa
 inter vos et Firmanos ut notum haberetis
 huic epistulae subici iussi.
 P(ublio) Valerio Patruino [[et L(ucio) Antonio Saturnino]] co(n)s(ulibus),
- 10 XIII kal(endas) Augustas.
 Imp(erator) Caesar Divi Vespasiani f(ilius) [[Domitianus]]
 Aug(ustus) adhibitis utriusque ordinis splen-
 didis viris cognita causa inter Fale-
 rienses et Firmanos pronuntiavi quod
- 15 su(b)scriptum est:
 et vetustas litis, quae post tot annos
 retractatur a Firmanis adversus
 Falerienses, vehementer me movet,
 cum possessorum securitati vel mi-
- 20 nus multi anni sufficere possint,
 et Divi Augusti diligentissimi et in-
 dulgentissimi erga Quartanos suos
 principis epistula, qua admonuit
 eos, ut omnia sub{p}siciva sua collige-
- 25 rent et venderent. quos tam salubri
 admonitioni paruisse non dubito.
 propter quae possessorum ius confirmo.
 valete. d(ie) XI k(alendas) Aug(ustas) in Albano.
 agente curam T(ito) Bovio Vero,
- 30 legatis P(ublio) Bovio Sabino
 P(ublio) Petronio Achille. d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ublice).

Der Text weist nur wenige epigraphische Besonderheiten auf: So ist in der Z. 2 und 11 der Name des Kaisers eradiert worden. Eine weitere

⁴ S. RICCOBONO, *Fontes iuris romani antejustiniani* I, Firenze 1909², S. 423-424 Nr. 75.

⁵ F.F. ABBOTT–A.C. JOHNSON, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, Princeton 1926, S. 367-368 Nr. 63.

⁶ M. MCCRUM–A.G. WOODHEAD, *Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors Including the Year of the Revolution A.D. 68-96*, Cambridge 1961, S. 137 Nr. 462.

⁷ R.K. SHERK, *The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian*, Cambridge–New York–New Rochelle–Melbourne–Sydney 1988, S. 137 Nr. 96.

Rasur findet sich in Z. 9, wo der Name des zweiten Consuls getilgt wurde⁸. Während letztere bereits 89 vorgenommen wurde, erfolgte diejenige des Namens von Domitian erst nach dessen *damnatio memoriae* im September 96⁹. In Z. 23 schließlich setzte der Graveur am Zeilenende das Schluß-O klein über das N.

Übersetzt lautet der Inschriftentext:

Der Imperator Caesar, Sohn des vergöttlichten Vespasian, Domitian Augustus, der Pontifex maximus, (Inhaber der) tribunizischen Gewalt, zweimaliger Imperator, achtmaliger Consul, für den neunten Consulat designiert, der Vater des Vaterlands, grüßt die Quattuorviri und Decurionen von Falerio in Picenum. Ich habe befohlen, Euch diesen Brief zu übergeben, damit Ihr Bescheid erhaltet, was ich entschieden habe hinsichtlich des Rechtsstreites um die *subsicivae* zwischen Euch und den Firmanern. Unter dem Consulat des Publius Valerius Patruinus und des Lucius Antonius Saturninus, am 19. Juli (82).

(Ich,) der Imperator Caesar, Sohn des vergöttlichten Vespasian, Domitian Augustus, der ich Männer aus beiden angesehenen *ordines* [*i.e.* dem der Senatoren und dem der Ritter] (zur Beratung) im Rechtsstreit zwischen den Faleriensen und Firmanern hinzugezogen habe, habe verkündet, was im folgenden niedergeschrieben ist.

Das Alter des Streites, der nach so vielen Jahren von den Firmanern gegen die Falerienser wieder ans Licht gezogen wird, bewegt mich stark, da auch weniger Jahre für die Rechtssicherheit der Grundbesitzer genügen könnten, und sie durch den Brief des vergöttlichten Augustus, des gewissenhaftesten und gnädigsten Fürsten, für seine Vierer [*i.e.* Veteranen der legio IIII Macedonica] ermahnt wurden, daß sie ihre gesamte *subsiciva* zusammenfassen und verkaufen sollten. Ich bezweifle nicht, daß sie einer so günstigen Ermahnung gehorcht haben. Deshalb bestätige ich das Recht der Grundbesitzer. Lebt wohl. Am 22. Juli (82) in Albanum (ergangen). Unter der Leitung von Titus Bovius Verus, als Gesandte (fungierten) Publius Bovius Sabinus (und) Publius Petronius Achilles. Öffentlich errichtet auf Beschluß der Decurionen.

⁸ Die Ergänzung des Namens des zweiten Consuls richtig bereits bei B. BORGHESI, *Lettres (Œuvres complètes, VII)*, Paris 1872, S. 272-274, 395. Zum Consulat des Saturninus s. jetzt ausführlich W. ECK, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, München 1970, S. 59-62; DERS., *Epigraphische Untersuchungen zu Konsuln und Senatoren*, ZPE 37 (1980), S. 51-60; DERS., *Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen vom 1.-3. Jahrhundert*, Köln-Bonn 1985, S. 40-41 Nr. 80. S. auch P. LE ROUX, *Les sénateurs d'Hispania citerior*, Tituli 5 (1982), S. 451.

⁹ Suet., *Dom.* 23: ... *eradendos ubique titulos abolendamque omnem memoriam*; vgl. dazu auch Plin., *Pan.* LII 5. S. dazu R. WEYNAND, s.v. *Flavius*, in *RE* VI 2 (1909), Sp. 2580; B.W. JONES, *Domitian*, S. 160.

I. URSACHE UND ANLASS DES RECHTSSTREITES

Aus dem kaiserlichen Schreiben vom 22. Juli 82, welches ein kurzes Urteilsprotokoll eines Prozesses vor dem Kaisergericht repräsentiert, erfahren wir zunächst, wer die beiden Verfahrensbeteiligten waren: Als klagende Partei stand die Gemeinde Firmum Picenum (Z. 5, 13-14, 17) gegen die beklagte Kolonie Falerio (Z. 5, 14, 18). Der Streitgegenstand waren Grundstücke in der faleriensischen *subsiciva* (Z. 6, 24; s. unten S. 215). Eine dritte Personengruppe stellen die namentlich nicht näher bezeichneten Grundstücksbesitzer dar. Sie bildeten keine eigenständige Prozeßpartei, jedoch handelte es sich bei ihnen um die Begünstigten im Urteil (Z. 27); da die Bronzetafel in Falerio aufgestellt worden war, können wir schließen, daß es sich bei diesen *possessores* um Bürger der beklagten Kolonie handelte. Aus einigen Formulierungen des Textes geht weiterhin hervor, daß die Ursache des Streites in ferner Vergangenheit liegen mußte (Z. 16, 19-20) und offensichtlich mit einer Schenkung des Augustus zugunsten von als *Quartani* bezeichneten Veteranen im Zusammenhang stand (Z. 24-26).

Es ist daher wahrscheinlich, den Ausgangspunkt des Rechtsstreites in der Ansiedlung von Veteranen der legio IIII Macedonica durch Augustus nach der Schlacht von Philippi in Picenum zu sehen¹⁰. Nach Falerio, das dabei den Rechtsstatus einer Kolonie erhielt, wurde eine Deduktion durchgeführt, nachdem das Land neu vermessen worden war¹¹. Da das Territorium dieser Gemeinde für die vorgesehenen Adsignationen nicht

¹⁰ Der Zeitpunkt der Veteranendeduktion ist nicht genau bekannt. Während Th. MOMMSEN, *CIL* IX 5420, und ihm darin folgend E. DE RUGGIERO, *L'arbitrato pubblico presso i Romani*, *BIDR* 5 (1892), S. 415, annahmen, daß diese nach der Schlacht von Actium stattfand, ist die Forschung im allgemeinen der Überzeugung, daß es sich bei dieser Kolonisation um eine Maßnahme im Zuge der Ansiedlungen des Augustus nach der Schlacht von Philippi handelte; s. z.B. Chr. HÜLSEN, s.v. *Firmum*, in *RE* VI 2 (1909), Sp. 2380-2381; E. RITTERLING, s.v. *legio*, in *RE* XII 2 (1925), Sp. 1549-1550; L. RICHARDSON, s.v. *Firmum Picenum*, in *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, Princeton 1976, S. 329. Zur Ansiedlung der Veteranen von 28 Legionen in Italien s. den Bericht bei App., *Bell. civ.* IV 362; Suet., *Aug.* 13.2; vgl. *Rgda* 3; s. dazu D. KIENAST, *Augustus*, Darmstadt 1982, S. 37-38, mit ausführlicher Literatur. Für eine Datierung der Deduktion in früh augusteische Zeit spricht u.a. die Tatsache, daß die *emeriti* der legio IIII Macedonica, welche nach der Schlacht von Actium aus dem aktiven Militärdienst ausschieden, wohl in Ateste angesiedelt wurden; s. E. PAIS, *Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum Supplementa Italica*. I. *Addita ad vol. V. Galliae Cisalpiniae*, Roma 1884, S. 514. S. auch Anm. 13.

¹¹ *Lib. colon.* I, *Feldmesser* I, S. 227.11-228.2; *Lib. colon.* II, *Feldmesser* I, S. 256.9-10. S. dazu auch Chr. HÜLSEN, in *RE* VI 2 (1909), Sp. 1971; vgl. L. RICHARDSON, s.v. *Falerio*, in *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, S. 324.

ausreichte, wurde Land der benachbarten älteren Kolonie Firmum Picenum beschlagnahmt¹² und dem *ager datus assignatus* zugeschlagen¹³.

Ein Teil dieses beschlagnahmten Landes wurde an die *Quartani* assigniert; ein anderer Teil blieb jedoch besitzerlos und wurde der neuen Kolonie mit der Auflage übergeben, ihn zusammenzufassen und zugunsten der Gemeindekasse zu verkaufen¹⁴. Genau dieser Teil ist unter den *subsicivae* zu verstehen, die die Firmaner im Jahre 82 zurückforderten.

Im römischen Bodenrecht versteht man unter der *subsiciva* in der Grundbedeutung die 'Randstücke', die bei der Feldvermessung zwischen den äußeren *limites* der regelmäßig angelegten Centurien und den — meist unregelmäßigen — Grenzlinien des Territoriums entstanden¹⁵. In der übertragenen Bedeutung bezeichnet man damit Ödflächen inner-

¹² Der Grund für die zwangsweise Abtretung des firmanischen Territoriums lag vermutlich in der Parteinahme der Stadtbewohner für die republikanischen Verschwörer und gegen Marcus Antonius im Jahre 44 v.Chr.; s. Cic., *Phil.* VII 23.

¹³ So auch A. RUDORFF, *GrInst.* S. 456. Vgl. dazu Th. MOMMSEN, *CIL* IX 5420; E. DE RUGGIERO, *BIDR* 5 (1892), S. 415-416, die annahmen, daß Falerio erst nach der Schlacht von Actium kolonisiert worden sei, wobei ein Teil seines Gebietes aus der *subsiciva* einer von ihnen postulierten triumviralen Kolonie von Firmum (s. Anm. 12) gebildet worden sei.

MommSEN glaubte, die Firmaner hätten Augustus überzeugt, daß sie Äcker bewirtschafteten, welche nun auf dem Gebiet von Falerio lägen. Der Kaiser habe ihnen daraufhin die Erlaubnis erteilt, diese Gebiete zu verkaufen, woraus für ihn folgte *Quartani igitur coloni sunt non Falerienses, sed Firmani*; ihm folgten E. RITTERLING, in *RE* XII 2 (1925), Sp. 1549; L. RICHARDSON, in *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, S. 324; F. MILLAR, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, London 1977, S. 435. E. DE RUGGIERO, a.a.O., und R.K. SHERK, *op. cit.* (Anm. 7), S. 137 Nr. 96, widersprechen aufgrund einer Verwechslung der an der Ackerverteilung beteiligten Personengruppe MommSEN teilweise, aber auch sich selbst. Hätte MommSEN recht, würde dies bedeuten, daß sich die Firmaner im Jahre 82 praktisch selbst verklagt hätten, da es sich bei den *possessores* um die Nachkommen der Käufer handeln müßte, denen sie selbst die *subsiciva* verkauft hätten.

Keinen Hinweis auf eine Ansiedlung von Veteranen der legio IIII Macedonica in Firmum liefern die Inschriften. Obwohl der Fundort der Grabinschrift des C. Vettius L.f. Vel. Tuscus legionis IIII Macedonicae (*CIL* IX 5527), Monte S. Pietràngeli, näher bei Firmum als bei Falerio liegt, ist er von der Tennaniederung, in der die erstgenannte Gemeinde liegt, durch eine bis zu 400 Meter hoch aufsteigende Bergkette getrennt. Die Fundortangabe einer Bleikugel mit der Inschrift *legio quar(ta)* (*CIL* IX 6086 Nr. XIX = I² 867) «prope Firmum» ist zu wenig präzise.

¹⁴ *Lib. colon.* I, *Feldmesser* I, S. 227.11–228.2; *Lib. colon.* II, *Feldmesser* I, S. 256.6–12; vgl. dazu S. 256.3–5; s. dazu auch die Z. 23–26 der Inschrift. Vgl. aber Th. MOMMSEN, *CIL* IX 5420.

¹⁵ Front., *Feldmesser* I, S. 6.5: *Subsicivum est quod a subsecante linea nomen accipit; 7.5–8: ... ideo quod is modus qui assignationi superest, linea cludatur et subsecetur, nam et reliquiarum mensurarum actu quidquid inter normalem lineam et extremitatem interest, subsicivum appellamus.*

halb des limitierten Landes. Diese konnten aufgrund von natürlichen oder künstlichen Hindernissen — z.B. Flüssen, *loca religiosa* oder Straßen sowie einem Mangel an Kolonisten — entstehen¹⁶. Isidor bezeichnete mit dem Terminus *subsiciva* alle Landstücke, *quae in divisura agri non efficiunt centuriam id est iugera ducenta*¹⁷.

Wenn die *subsicivae* nicht regulär assigniert wurden, blieben sie im Eigentum des *auctor divisionis*, im Falle von Militärkolonien also beim Kaiser¹⁸. Für die weitere Verwendung ergaben sich dann mehrere Vorgehensweisen: Der Kaiser konnte diese Gebiete im Staatsbesitz behalten¹⁹, er konnte sie an Einzelpersonen assignieren²⁰ oder verkaufen²¹. Weiterhin hatte er die Möglichkeit, sie an eine der von der *divisio* betroffenen Gebietskörperschaften zu geben, indem er sie der Gemeinde zurückgab, aus deren Territorium der *ager datus assignatus* beschlagnahmt wurde (*concessa rei publicae*)²², oder der neugegründeten Kolonie zuschlug (*concessa coloniae*)²³.

Im ersten Fall behielt der Kaiser de iure das volle Verfügungsrecht über den Grund und Boden, wohingegen dieses in allen anderen Fällen auf die neuen Eigentümer überging, welche die *subsicivae* verkaufen oder verpachten konnten²⁴.

Während mit solchen Flurstücken beschenkte Gemeinden und Einzelpersonen ein Interesse daran hatten, diese möglichst gewinnbringend zu nutzen, konnten Konflikte entstehen, wenn die *subsiciva* im Staatsbesitz verblieb, denn dieses brachliegende Land wurde oft von Grundstücksnachbarn oder von anderen Personen ohne Besitztitel okkupiert und kul-

¹⁶ Hyg., *Feldmesser* I, S. 132.25–133.2; Sic. Flaccus, *Feldmesser* I, S. 163.5–17; ein Sonderfall stellt der Mangel an Kolonisten dar; s. Hyg., *Feldmesser* I, S. 124.19. S. dazu A. RUDORFF, *GrInst*, S. 390–391; O. KARLOWA, *RR* I, S. 317; St. WEINSTOCK, s.v. *subsiciva*, in *RE* IVA 1 (1931), Sp. 501–502; D. FLACH, *Römische Agrargeschichte* (*HdA*, III 9), München 1990, S. 13–14.

¹⁷ Isid. XV 13.15.

¹⁸ A. RUDORFF, *GrInst*, S. 391–392; O. KARLOWA, *RR* I, S. 317; St. WEINSTOCK, in *RE* IV A 1 (1931), Sp. 502.

¹⁹ A. RUDORFF, *GrInst*, S. 392; O. KARLOWA, *RR* I, S. 317. S. auch unten S. 217–218 mit Anm. 27–32.

²⁰ Hyg., *Feldmesser* I, S. 111.3–5; M. Iunius Nipsus, *Feldmesser* I, S. 295.9–12.

²¹ A. RUDORFF, *GrInst*, S. 392; O. KARLOWA, *RR* I, S. 317.

²² Hyg., *Feldmesser* I, S. 117.24–118.4; Sic. Flaccus, *Feldmesser* I, S. 163.5–8; Hyg., *Feldmesser* I, S. 202.8–10.

²³ Hyg., *Feldmesser* I, S. 117.21–23; Sic. Flaccus, *Feldmesser* I, S. 162.20–27; Hyg., *Feldmesser* I, S. 202.5–8.

²⁴ Hyg., *Feldmesser* I, S. 117.18–118.4; s. auch Sic. Flaccus, *Feldmesser* I, S. 16.22–26; s. dazu St. WEINSTOCK, in *RE* IVA 1 (1931), Sp. 502.

tiviert. Die Okkupanten erwarben in diesem Fall keinerlei Eigentumsrechte an der *subsiciva*.²⁵

Unter der Regierung des Vespasian wurde die stillschweigende Duldung dieser Okkupation von Staatsland beendet. Die Bekleidung der Censur durch den Kaiser in den Jahren 73 und 74²⁶ stand wohl in unmittelbarem Zusammenhang mit einer Reihe von Maßnahmen, mit denen er nachdrücklich das Besitzrecht des *fiscus* an okkupierten *subsicivae* sowohl in Italien als auch in den Provinzen durchsetzte²⁷. Hyginus schreibt:

Cum divus Vespasianus subsiciva omnia quae non veniissent aut ali-
quibus personis concessa essent, sibi vindicasset²⁸.

Ähnlich berichtet Frontinus, daß der Kaiser auf die aus dem Verkauf dieser Flurstücke erzielbaren Einkünfte nicht habe verzichten wollen und seine Ansprüche gegenüber den Kolonien, auf deren Territorium die *subsicivae* lagen, geltend gemacht habe. Diese Maßnahme habe zu Protesten der Grundbesitzer geführt, die Gesandtschaften zu Vespasian geschickt hätten, der dadurch schließlich veranlaßt worden sei, auf die Einziehung und den Wiederverkauf zukünftig zu verzichten, jedoch auf der Beibehaltung bereits getroffener Einzelfallentscheidungen bestanden habe²⁹. An einer anderen Stelle berichtet er, daß derjenige, welcher die *subsiciva* okkupiert habe, gezwungen worden sei, sie zu kaufen oder zu pachten³⁰. Der *liber coloniarum* überliefert schließlich für die *Provincia Calabria*:

²⁵ A. RUDORFF, *GrInst*, S. 392; O. KARLOWA, *RR* I, 317; s. unten S. 223 mit Anm. 48-50.

²⁶ Zur Censur Vespasians s. Suet., *Vesp.* 8-11; Aur. Vict., *De Caes.* IX 9-11; s. dazu R. WEYNAND, s.v. *Flavius*, in *RE* VI 2 (1909), Sp. 2655-2656, 2659; L. HOMO, *Vespasian*, Paris 1949, S. 285-288, 296.

²⁷ S. dazu R. WEYNAND, a.a.O., Sp. 2665; L. HOMO, *op. cit.*, S. 304-305.

²⁸ Hyg., *Feldmesser* I, S. 133.9-11.

²⁹ Front., *Feldmesser* I, S. 54.1-10: *horum subsicivorum multae res p. etiam si sero mensuram repetierunt, non minimum aerario publico contulerunt. pecuniam etiam quarundam coloniarum imp. Vespasianus exegit, quae non haberent subsiciva concessa: non enim fieri poterat ut solum illud quod nemini erat adsignatum, alterius posset quam qui poterat adsignare, non enim exiguum pecuniae fisco contulit venditis subsicivis. sed postquam legationum miseratione commotus est, quia quassabatur universus Italiae possessor, intermisit, non concessit.* S. dazu auch A. RUDORFF, *GrInst*, S. 392; O. KARLOWA, *RR* I, S. 317-318; R. WEYNAND, in *RE* VI 2 (1909), Sp. 2665; L. HOMO, *op. cit.* (Anm. 26), S. 305.

³⁰ Front., *Feldmesser* I, S. 52.7-8: *quoniam subsiciva quae quis occupaverat redimere cogebatur.*

... cetera (territoria) autem prout quis occupavit posteriore tempore censita sunt et ei possidenti adsignata, ab Imperatore Vespasiano censita ex iussione³¹.

Auch Titus, der Sohn und Nachfolger des Vespasian, versuchte nach seinem Regierungsantritt aufs Neue, den staatlichen Besitzansprüchen Geltung zu verschaffen³².

Aus dem Kapitel *De subsicivis* in den *Controversiae agrorum* des Frontinus (*Feldmesser* I 53.16–54.16) geht hervor, daß die städtischen Gemeinden die Hauptbetroffenen der verworrenen Eigentumssituation außerhalb des Limitationsnetzes waren:

in his subsicivis quidam iterum miserunt quibus agri adsignarentur, quidam et subsiciva coloniis concesserunt, ideoque semper hoc genus controversiae a rebus publicis exercentur³³.

Es wurde oben bereits erwähnt, daß bei der augusteischen Veteranen- deduktion ein Teil des Territoriums, welches der neuen Kolonie von Falerio von der Nachbargemeinde Firmum Picenum übertragen worden war, nicht assigniert wurde³⁴. Diese *subsiciva* wurde von Augustus der Kolonie geschenkt. Ihr Verkauf war vom Kaiser wohl als eine Art ‘Anschubfinanzierung’ für die Gemeindekasse gedacht.

Domitian betont in seinem schriftlichen Urteil: *vetustas litis, quae post tot annos retractatur a Firmanis adversus Falerienses, vehementer me movet* (Z. 16-18). Der Grundstücksstreit dauerte zum Zeitpunkt der Klageeinreichung durch die Firmaner also bereits lange Zeit an. Es ist denkbar, in der Formulierung *Divi Augusti diligentissimi et indulgentissimi erga Quartanos suos principis epistula, qua admonuit eos, ut omnia subsiciva sua colligerent et venderent* (Z. 21-25) bereits einen ersten Hinweis auf einen Konflikt zwischen beiden Gemeinden zu sehen. Offensichtlich hatte sich Augustus nach der Koloniegründung und der Übertragung der Bodenrechte noch einmal brieflich an die Falerienser gewandt, um seiner Forderung der Zusammenfassung und des Verkaufs der nicht assignierten Grundstücke Nachdruck zu verleihen. Möglicher-

³¹ *Lib. colon. I, Feldmesser I, S. 211.6-9.*

³² Front., *Feldmesser I, S. 54.10-11: aequae et Titus imp. aliqua subsiciva in Italia recollegit*; Hyg., *Feldmesser I, S. 133.11-12: itemque divus Titus a patre coeptum hunc ritum teneret*; s. dazu auch A. RUDORFF, *GrInst.*, S. 392; O. KARLOWA, *RR I, S. 317-318*; R. WEYNAND, in *RE VI 2* (1909), Sp. 2724; B.W. JONES, *The Emperor Titus*, London–Sydney–New York 1984, S. 171.

³³ Front., *Feldmesser I, S. 53.18-20.*

³⁴ S. oben Anm. 14.

weise hatten sich die Firmaner bei Augustus darüber beklagt, daß sie selbst — vielleicht sogar entschädigungslos — einen Teil ihres Territoriums verloren hätten, den nun die Kolonisten unrechtmäßig zur Arrondierung ihrer Parzellen benutzten.

Der vespasianische Versuch, den staatlichen Bodenbesitzrechten überall in Italien erneut Geltung zu verschaffen, war vermutlich ausschlaggebend für ein erneutes Aufgreifen des Falles durch die Firmaner³⁵. Die Inschrift enthält bis auf die augusteische *admonitio* in Z. 21-26 keinerlei Hinweise auf eine kaiserliche Intervention in die Besitzstände der Einwohner von Falerio. Daher ist es unwahrscheinlich, daß Vespasian oder Titus staatlichen Grundbesitz in der umstrittenen *subsiciva* reklamierten.

II. DAS KLAGEVERFAHREN

Nach Frontinus mußte die Klage von Firmum als Gemeinde angestrengt werden³⁶. Dabei wurde das Verfahren von der klagenden Partei bereits in erster Instanz vor den Kaiser selbst gebracht, damit dieser als Rechtsnachfolger des *auctor divisionis* eine gerechte Eigentumsregelung herbeiführen sollte³⁷.

Der Zeitpunkt der Klageeinreichung gegen die Grundbesitzer der Nachbargemeinde auf Herausgabe³⁸ des in augusteischer Zeit abgetretenen Territoriums ist vielleicht schon in die letzten Regierungsjahre des

³⁵ A. RUDORFF, *GrInst*, S. 456-457. Vgl. dagegen R. WEYNAND, in *RE* VI 2 (1909), Sp. 2554, der annahm, daß die Firmaner bei der augusteischen Deduktion die *subsiciva* zurückübertragen bekommen hätten (*concessa rei publicae*), die dann allerdings in die Hände von Erben der Kolonisten von Falerio gelangt sei. Weynand nahm fälschlicherweise an, daß die *admonitio* in Z. 23 und 26 der Inschrift an die Firmaner ergangen sei.

³⁶ Front., *Feldmesser* I, S. 53.21-22 (s. oben S. 218 mit Anm. 33). Die Kolonien und Munizipien waren Träger privater Rechte und konnten seit der spätrepublikanischen Zeit durchaus Zivilprozesse führen; s. M. KASER, *PR*² I, S. 303, 306; vgl. A. RUDORFF, *GrInst*, S. 457, der den Einwohnern von Firmum die Rolle von Litisdenunzianten zuschrieb. Erst nach dem Edikt des Domitian (s. unten S. 231 mit Anm. 80) galt dann, daß — wie Hyginus schreibt — *haec controversia numquam a privatis exercetur* (*Feldmesser* I, S. 54.14). Vgl. B. FAASS, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der römischen Kaiserurkunde*, *AUF* 1 (1907), S. 224; R.K. SHERK, *op. cit.* (Anm. 7), S. 137 Nr. 96, die annahmen, daß Falerio die Klage gegen Firmum angestrengt habe.

³⁷ S. dazu M. KASER, *ZP*, S. 343, 350.

³⁸ Im Cognitionsverfahren galt nicht das Prinzip, daß jede Klage und Verurteilung auf Geld lauten mußte (vgl. Gaius, *Inst.* IV 48, zu den anderen Verfahrensarten), sondern das Urteil konnte auch auf eine andere Leistung — im vorliegenden Fall: auf die Herausgabe der Grundstücke in der *subsiciva* — lauten; s. bes. die Quellen zu den Provinzialprozessen wie Scaev., *Dig.* XVIII 5.9; Alex., *C.* III 27.2 pr., 42.1; IV 51.1; V 3.2; VIII 29.1.1; Gord., *C.* III 32.5 pr.; VIII 13.9; Phil., *C.* III 34.5, VII 45.5; Diocl., *C.* III 32.17, 32.28, 42.9; s. dazu M. KASER, *ZP*, S. 392-393 mit Anm. 12, 407.

Vespasian oder in die kurze Regierungszeit des Titus zu datieren. Den *terminus post quem* bildet die Zeit zwischen März und Juni des Jahres 75, als der Kaiser in Rom *locum viniae publicae occupatum a privatis per collegium pontificum restituit*³⁹.

Am Beginn des Prozesses zwischen den beiden picenischen Kolonien stand vermutlich eine Leistungsklage der Firmaner in Form der *rei vindicatio*⁴⁰. Da die von der Klage betroffenen faleriensischen Grundbesitzer die tatsächliche Sachherrschaft über die umstrittenen Grundstücke in der *subsiciva* ausübten, lag die Beweislast zur Untermauerung ihrer Ansprüche vollständig bei den klagenden Firmanern⁴¹. Die beklagte Gemeinde, Falerio, handelte in Prozeßstandschaft für die einzelnen Grundbesitzer: das heißt, sie war befugt, im eigenen Namen einen Prozeß über fremde Rechte — diejenigen der *possessores* — zu führen⁴².

Der zentrale Vorwurf der firmanischen *rei vindicatio* beruhte in Anknüpfung an die vespasianischen Rückforderungen vermutlich auf der Behauptung, die *subsiciva* sei von Personen ohne gültigen Besitztitel okkupiert. Die Argumentation, die zu dieser Schlußfolgerung führte, könnte auf vier verschiedene Arten aufgebaut gewesen sein:

1. Es wurde seitens der klagenden Gemeinde Firmum zwar konzediert, daß die *subsiciva* zu Recht an die Beklagte abgetreten worden war, jedoch hätte damit keine Eigentumsübertragung stattgefunden, sondern der neuen Kolonie sei lediglich ein auf 100 Jahre befristetes

³⁹ CIL VI 933. Die Wiederherstellung des öffentlichen Besitzrechts in Italien und den Provinzen erfolgte sukzessive; s. z.B. CIL X 1018 aus Pompeii (2. Hälfte der 70er Jahre des 1. Jh.) und CIL X 3828; F. BERNABEI, NSA 1893, S. 165-166 aus Capua in Campanien (a. 77 oder 78). Für solche Maßnahmen des Kaisers in der Provinz Cyrene s. den Bericht des Hyginus (*Feldmesser* I, S. 122.20-123.1). Die Beendigung der Okkupation von Land, welches von Augustus an Veteranen der *legio II Gallica* assigniert wurde, durch Vespasian in der ersten Hälfte des Jahres 77 ist in Arausio in der Narbonensis dokumentiert; s. dazu D. FLACH, *Römische Agrargeschichte*, S. 4-5 mit der älteren Literatur.

Zum Edikt des Domitian, das nach dem Urteil im vorliegenden Fall ergangen sein muß, s. den Abschnitt V., S. 230-231.

⁴⁰ Ausgeschlossen ist, daß es sich dabei um eine der Teilungsklage verwandte *actio finum regundorum*, d.h. die Einleitung eines Verfahrens zur Regelung der Grenzen zwischen Grundstücksnachbarn, handelte. Zwischen den Gemeinden war die Frage des Besitzes bzw. des Eigentumserwerbs an Grundstücken in der *subsiciva* umstritten; so bereits F. MILLAR, *op. cit.* (Anm. 13), S. 435; s. dazu M. KASER, *PR*², S. 409-410, 412; zu den Grundlagen im altrömischen Recht, s. M. KASER, *PR*², S. 142-143.

⁴¹ S. dazu M. KASER, *PR*², S. 432-433.

⁴² Dies tritt deutlich darin zutage, daß das Urteil zwar an die Magistrate und Decurionen von Falerio erging (Z. 5), daß aber die *possessores* in ihren Rechten bestätigt wurden (Z. 27).

Nutzungsrecht, der *ususfructus*, zugestanden worden. Nach Ablauf dieses Zeitraumes um das Jahr 60 hätte die Vorbesitzerin, Firmum, wieder in ihre alten Rechte eingesetzt werden müssen⁴³.

2. Die Übertragung des gesamten Landes mit Ausnahme der konkret an Veteranen assignierten Landlose durch Augustus wurde in Frage gestellt. Die übrig gebliebene *subsiciva* wäre demnach der landgebenden Gemeinde zurückerstattet worden (*concessa rei publicae*), so daß es sich bei dem umstrittenen Gebiet um unrechtmäßig mittels Gewalt (*vi*) oder heimlich (*clam*) besetztes Eigentum der Kolonie Firmum gehandelt hätte⁴⁴.
3. Die Übertragung der übrig gebliebenen *subsiciva* an eine der Gemeinden wurde in Frage gestellt. Diese Flurstücke wären im Staatseigentum verblieben und im Laufe der Zeit durch die Einwohner von Falerio unrechtmäßig okkupiert worden.
4. Die Kolonie Firmum erkannte den Verlust eines Teiles ihres Territoriums in augusteischer Zeit an. Sie behauptete jedoch, daß das nicht an die Veteranen assignierte Land im Besitz der Gemeinde nicht den mit der Schenkung verbundenen Auflagen — *colligatio* und *venditio* der gesamten *subsiciva* — unterworfen wurde. Die Eigentumsübertragung an Falerio (*concessa coloniae*) hätte ohne die Erfüllung dieser Verpflichtung aber nicht stattgefunden.

Gegen die erste Argumentation spricht das Fehlen jeglicher Hinweise im Urteil auf eine bloße Übertragung von Nutzungsrechten an der *subsiciva* bei der Koloniegründung. Die augusteische *admonitio* spricht eindeutig von übertragbaren Eigentumsrechten, welche den *Quartani* konzediert wurden (Z. 24-25).

Die der zweiten Argumentation zugrundeliegende Vorgehensweise ist ebenfalls wenig wahrscheinlich. Wäre das für die Veteranenansiedlung nicht benötigte Land an die Firmaner zurückgegeben worden, hätte dies urkundlich dokumentiert werden müssen. Unter diesen Voraussetzungen ist aber nicht einsichtig, wie es überhaupt zur *vetustas litis* (Z. 16) kommen konnte. Hätten tatsächlich Einwohner des Nachbarortes unrechtmäßig den Grund und Boden von Firmum besetzt, dann hätte die kla-

⁴³ S. dazu Gaius, *Dig.* VII 1.56; XXXIII 2.8; M. KASER, *PR*², 306 m. Anm. 31.

⁴⁴ S. dazu M. KASER, *PR*², S. 397. Hyginus betont sicherlich zu Recht den Brauch, eine Schenkung der *subsiciva* an die neue Kolonie oder an die kommunale Vorbesitzerin inschriftlich zu dokumentieren, *Feldmesser* I, S. 202.7-10: *aut si coloniae concessa fuerint, CONCESSA COLONIAE in aere inscribemus. ita si rei publicae concessa fuerint, in aere SUBSECIVA CONCESSA ut INLIENSIBVS inscribemus.*

gende Gemeinde bereits unter Augustus einen eindeutig dokumentierbaren Rechtsanspruch auf Rückgabe gehabt.

Beide Ansätze wären darüber hinaus aus einem weiteren Grund für eine Leistungsklage unzweckmäßig gewesen: Aus jeder der beiden Argumentationen folgt, daß es sich bei der umstrittenen *subsiciva* um Gemeindeland von Firmum gehandelt hätte, welches seit ausgesprochen langer Zeit von Einwohnern der Nachbarkolonie okkupiert gewesen wäre.

Selbst wenn die Frage des rechtmäßigen Erwerbs nicht hätte nachvollziehbar geklärt werden können, wäre es damit den meisten der betroffenen Grundstücksbesitzer freigestanden, sich auf das Recht der *usucapio* zu berufen⁴⁵. Das bereits in den XII-Tafel-Gesetzen (VI 3) niedergelegte Recht der Ersitzung durch zweijährige Okkupation eines Grundstücks diene seit der Einführung des absoluten Eigentumsrechts in der späten Republik zur Verwandlung des Besitzanspruchs in quiritisches Eigentum. Mit Hilfe dieser Rechtskonstruktion erwarben *possessores* nach Ablauf der Ersitzungszeit selbst Eigentum, wenn sie tatsächlich oder gutgläubig aufgrund einer *iusta causa* — d.h. eines rechtlich einwandfreien Erwerbsgrundes wie z.B. Kauf (*pro emptore*), Schenkung (*pro donato*) oder Erbschaft (*pro herede*) etc. — von Nichteigentümern Grund und Boden erworben hatten.

Nachdem seit der Abtretung eines Teils des firmanischen Territoriums an Falerio so lange Zeit vergangen war, hätten sich fast alle *possessores* auf eine *iusta causa* (in der Regel wohl *pro herede* oder *pro emptore*) und damit auf den Besitzschutz durch das vererbbare *interdictum uti possidetis* berufen können⁴⁶. Die klagenden Firmaner hätten, um das Ersitzungsrecht der einzelnen Grundbesitzer anfechten zu können, ihnen in jedem Einzelfall den nicht gutgläubigen Erwerb (*mala fides*) nachweisen müssen⁴⁷.

Die klagende Partei war einem doppelten Dilemma ausgesetzt: Einerseits mußte sie die entsprechenden Grundstücke als privatrechtsfähige

⁴⁵ Zur Ersitzbarkeit von Gemeindeland s. *PS* V 2.4; Gaius, *Dig.* XLI 39.9; Ulp., *Dig.* XXXIX 2.15.26-27; M. KASER, *PR*², S. 420, 455.

⁴⁶ Pap., *Dig.* XLI 8.8; Paul., *Dig.* XLI 2.5. *Interdicta* waren allgemeine, vor Gericht verwendbare Rechtstitel, durch welche die Eigentums- oder Nutzungsrechte der Besitzer von Sachen bestätigt und gegen Eingriffe dritter Personen geschützt wurden. Zum Besitzschutz durch das *interdictum uti possidetis* s. M. KASER, *PR*², S. 140-141, 386-387, 420. Zu den *interdicta possessoria* s. Gaius, *Inst.* IV 143, Paul., *Dig.* XLIII 1.2.3; s. auch Gaius, *Inst.* 145; vgl. IV 139; M. KASER, *PR*², S. 388, 396-398; vgl. dazu S. 402-403 mit Anm. 13-18.

⁴⁷ M. KASER, *PR*², S. 422-423.

Sachen behandeln, da sie nur für solche, sogenannte *res Mancipi* eine Leistungsklage geltend machen konnte⁴⁸. Andererseits mußte sie den Nachweis führen, daß das umstrittene Gebiet ein nicht ersitzbares Gut war. Nur so konnte sie sowohl einer eventuellen Berufung der *possessores* auf die Ersitzung entgehen als auch ihre Klage an die vespasianischen Maßnahmen anknüpfen.

Dabei ist es unwahrscheinlich, daß sie dem dritten Argumentationsmuster folgte, da sie die *subsiciva* auf diese Art als ein nicht privatrechtsfähiges Gut deklariert hätte und keinen Eigentumsanspruch für sich selbst hätte begründen können⁴⁹.

Somit bleibt als wahrscheinlichste, der Klage zugrunde liegende Argumentation nur die letzte Möglichkeit.

Die klagende Gemeinde mußte den Kaiser also davon überzeugen, daß eine Eigentumsübertragung der *subsiciva* an Falerio nicht vollzogen worden war, weil die augusteische *admonitio* nicht beachtet wurde. Sie mußte weiterhin postulieren, daß es sich bei dem umstrittenen Gebiet um ein Gut handelte⁵⁰, welches nach wie vor zur Disposition des Rechtsnachfolgers des *auctor divisionis* stand und weiterhin der Verteilung harrte, und damit weder Staats- noch Privateigentum war. Das Adsignationsverfahren von 43 v.Chr. wäre nach dieser Rechtskonstruktion im Jahre 82 n.Chr. immer noch in der Schwebe gewesen. Dadurch hätten die jetzigen Grundbesitzer kein Eigentum erwerben können und wären Okkupanten ohne jeglichen Besitzschutz. Schließlich mußte ein eigener Anspruch formuliert werden, der wahrscheinlich mit den voraugusteischen Besitzverhältnissen begründet wurde⁵¹.

Ob die Klageerhebung der Firmaner durch eine Gesandtschaft erfolgte, geht aus den Quellen nicht eindeutig hervor; es ließe sich jedoch eine Parallele dazu in den *legationes* der italischen Grundbesitzer

⁴⁸ M. KASER, *PR*², S. 122-124, 381-382, 419-420.

⁴⁹ Wenn die *subsiciva* tatsächlich Staatseigentum gewesen wäre, hätte die firmanische Klage auf schwachen Grundlagen geruht, da während der vespasianischen Reformmaßnahmen nach 75 offensichtlich kein Eingriff in die Bodenbesitzstände von Falerio erfolgt war. Es hätte sich demnach bei den *possessores* der umstrittenen Grundstücke, die nicht Eigentümer waren, um Erbpächter gehandelt; diese genossen jedoch einen eigentumsähnlichen Besitzschutz durch das *interdictum uti frui habere possidere*; s. dazu M. KASER, *PR*², S. 388 mit Anm. 25; 455.

⁵⁰ Zur Unersitzbarkeit von Fiskalgütern s. Pomp., *Dig.* XLI 3.24.1; *Inst.* II 6.9; Alex., C. VII 30.2; s. dazu M. KASER, *PR*², S. 420.

⁵¹ Dies würde wiederum die den Kaiser bewegende *vetustas litis* erklären.

finden, die Vespasian nach dem Beginn seiner Restituierungsmaßnahmen aufsuchten⁵².

Es darf wohl in jedem Fall als sicher gelten, daß zwischen der Klageerhebung und der Anberaumung einer Verhandlung längere Zeit verging. Bei dem Rechtsstreit handelte es sich um ein einteiliges Cognitionsverfahren, bei dem ein Richter, in diesem Fall Domitian persönlich, für den gesamten Prozeß zuständig war⁵³. Die Z. 6 und 13 der Inschrift nennen explizit *quid constituerim de subsicivis cognita causa* und *Imp. Caesar ... Domitianus Aug. adhibitis utriusque ordinis splendidis viris cognita causa*⁵⁴. Beide Parteien unterlagen bereits von vornherein der kaiserlichen Gerichtsbarkeit.

III. DER ENTSCHEIDUNGSPROZESS

Das Hauptverfahren wurde öffentlich am 19. Juli 82 in Albanum vor dem Kaisergericht durchgeführt⁵⁵. Dazu waren als Vertreter der Kläger und der Beklagten zwei Gesandtschaften erschienen. Im Falle von Falerio bestand diese gemäß dem vespasianischen Edikt *De legationibus* aus drei Personen: einem *curator*, der als Handlungsbevollmächtigter der Gemeinde fungierte, und zwei *legati*, welche wohl hauptsächlich als

⁵² Front., *Feldmesser* I, S. 54.8; so auch A. RUDORFF, *GrInst*, S. 457 mit Anm. 579-580.

⁵³ S. ausführlich M. KASER, *ZP*, S. 339-409, bes. 339, 345-346, 351.

Den Gegensatz zum Cognitionsverfahren stellt der klassische zweiteilige Zivilprozeß dar, der in ein Verfahren *in iure* und anschließend in ein Verfahren *apud iudicem* zur Beweiswürdigung und Urteilsfindung zerfiel; s. E. SEIDL, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte und römisches Zivilrecht*, Köln-Berlin-Bonn-München 1971³, S. 161-162 Rdnr. 388-390.

⁵⁴ Die Inschrift *CIL* X 1018 (s. Anm. 36) könnte darauf hinweisen, daß die mit der Restituierung von Grundstücken zusammenhängenden Prozesse unter Vespasian mehrheitlich oder sogar insgesamt als Cognitionsverfahren durchgeführt wurden: *Ex auctoritate | Imp(eratoris) Caesaris | Vespasiani Aug(usti) | loca publica a privatis* ⁵ *possessa T(itus) Suedius Clemens | tribunus, causis cognitis et | mensuris factis, rei | publicae Pompeianorum | restituit*.

⁵⁵ S. dazu A. RUDORFF, *GrInst*, S. 457; E. DE RUGGIERO, *BIDR* 5 (1892), S. 416; J. CROOK, *Consilium Principis*, Cambridge 1955, S. 49; F. MILLAR, *op. cit.* (Anm. 13), S. 26, 120; B.W. JONES, *Domitian*, S. 28, 178. Vgl. dagegen W. KUNKEL, *Die Funktion des Konziliums in der magistratischen Straffjustiz und im Kaisergericht*, *ZRG* 85, 1968, S. 322, der darauf hingewiesen hat, daß lediglich die Urteilsverkündung sicher in der *arx Albana*, dem kaiserlichen Sommersitz, erfolgte.

M. KASER, *ZP*, S. 351, betont die Öffentlichkeit der Sitzungen des Kaisergerichtes, die in der Regel *pro tribunali* auf dem Forum in Rom stattfanden; s. dazu Suet., *Aug.* 33.1; *Dom.* 8.1; Cass. Dio LVII 7.2, LX 4.3, LXIX 7.1. Philostr., *Vit. Apoll.* VIII 4-5, berichtet, daß Domitian auch in einem Raum des Kaiserpalastes Recht sprach. Plin., *Ep.* VI 31.1-14, dokumentiert, daß Traian in seiner Villa in Centumcellae Straf- und Zivilprozesse verhandelte.

unabhängige Berichterstatter und Zeugen dienten. Seitens der beklagten Kolonie erschienen T. Bovius Verus als *curator* und P. Bovius Sabinus⁵⁶ sowie P. Petronius Achilles als Legaten (Z. 30-31); die Namen der Vertreter von Firmum bleiben dagegen unbekannt. Es dürfte sich, da Firmum Picenum als Gemeinde *municipum nomine* klagte, bei jener Gesandtschaft um einen *actor* und dessen Stellvertreter gehandelt haben⁵⁷.

Den Vorsitz des Gerichtshofes hatte Domitian selbst inne, wobei Männer *utriusque ordinis splendidis* (Z. 6) seine Beisitzer waren. Die Inschrift aus Falerio stellt nicht nur eines der wenigen Dokumente dar, die Hinweise auf die Zusammensetzung des kaiserlichen Gerichtskonziliums in flavischer Zeit geben; es ist auch die erste Quelle, welche über die Hinzuziehung von Angehörigen des *ordo equester* in dieses Gremium berichtet⁵⁸. Als sicher kann gelten, daß die *praefecti praetorio* aufgrund ihres Amtes Mitglieder des Gerichtshofes waren; wir besitzen jedoch keine sicheren Hinweise darauf, wieviele der Ritter, die zur näheren Umgebung des Kaisers zählten, dieser Körperschaft angehörten. Ihre Zahl wird in jedem Fall geringer gewesen sein als die der senatorischen Beisitzer⁵⁹.

⁵⁶ Aus Falerio ist nur eine Bovia Fausta Bovi Flacci bekannt (CIL IX 5469); möglicherweise ist sie der *familia* des Curators zuzurechnen. Fraglich ist, ob verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen zu einem Zeitgenossen, dem Ritter und Duumvirn von Puteoli, L. Bovius L.f. L.n. Fal. Celer, bestanden (CIL X 1685, 1686; zu dessen *familia* s. auch 2171, 2172); zu dessen Herkunft s. H.-G. PFLAUM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le haut-empire* I, Paris 1960, S. 126-128 Nr. 55; S. DEMOUGIN, *Les juges des cinq décuries originaires de l'Italie*, *AncSoc* 6 (1975), S. 147-148 Nr. 5; H. DEVIVIER, *Prosopographia militarium equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum* I, Lovanii 1976, S. 184 B27. Keine Beziehungen dürften zu der Priesterin Bovia Maxima aus Potentia in Lukanien (CIL X 129) oder zu dem Freigelassenen N. Bovius N. et M.I. Hilarus (CIL IX 1048) aus dem Territorium von Compsa in Kalabrien bestanden haben.

⁵⁷ Marc., *Dig. L. 7.5(4).6: praecipitur autem edicto divi Vespasiano omnibus civitatibus, ne plures quam ternos legatos mittant*; s. auch A. VON PREMERSTEIN, s.v. *legatus*, in *RE* XII 1 (1924), Sp. 1139. Zur Vertretung der Gemeinden bei Klagen *municipum nomine* durch *actores* s. Paul., *Dig. III 4.6.3*; Ulp., *Dig. III 4.7 pr.*, XLVI 8.9; s. dazu M. KASER, *PR²*, S. 306-307.

⁵⁸ S. dazu J. CROOK, *op. cit.* (Anm. 55), S. 51; W. KUNKEL, *ZRG* 85 (1968), S. 280-281; vgl. B.W. JONES, *Domitian and the Senatorial Order*, Philadelphia 1979, S. 84; DERS., *Domitian*, S. 178-179, der annahm, daß es sich hierbei um «his privy council» gehandelt habe. Nicht die Tatsache, daß Ritter in ein solches Konzil berufen worden wären, sei neu gewesen, sondern die demonstrative Herausstellung dieses Sachverhalts in einer offiziellen Urkunde. J.D. THOMAS, *An Imperial Constitution on Papyrus*, *BICS* 19 (1972), S. 103, publizierte einen zeitgenössischen Papyrus, in dem die Formulierung *adhibitis utriusque ordinis splendidis viris* direkt ins Griechische übernommen wurde: ἐξ ἐκατ[έ]ρας τάξεως ἀνδράσιν ἐπι[σημοίς].

⁵⁹ So ist bis heute nicht sicher geklärt, welche Funktion der enge Freund des Kaisers, Crispinus, bekleidete; s. dazu P. WHITE, *Ecce iterum Crispinus*, *AJPh* 95 (1974), S. 377

Welche Personen konkret mit dem Kaiser über den Grundstücksstreit berieten, geht aus dem Inschrifttext nicht hervor. Wahrscheinlich zählten Plottius Pegasus, der *optimus interpres legum sanctissimus*⁶⁰, und die Praetorianerpraefekten L. Iulius Ursus und Cornelius Fuscus⁶¹ zu diesem Kreis, der durch weitere Höflinge ergänzt wurde⁶².

Die Kolonie Firmum mußte im Cognitionsverfahren ihren Anspruch, die *petitio*, vorbringen. Falls die Falerienser es nicht vorzogen, zu schweigen und die Kläger die gesamte Beweislast tragen zu lassen, konnten sie mit Einreden, den sogenannten *praescriptiones*, antworten und absolute Verfahrenshindernisse geltend machen. Es ist denkbar, daß die beklagte Partei auf das Verjährungsrecht, die *praescriptio temporis*, hinwies⁶³. Sie konnte auf einen rechtlich einwandfreien Erwerb des umstrittenen Landes durch die Gemeinde aufgrund der Schenkung des Kaisers Augustus verweisen; und sie konnte anführen, daß jene *subs-civa* seit über 100 Jahren zu ihrem Territorium zählte. Domitian betonte in seinem Urteil, daß *possessorum securitati vel minus multi anni sufficere possint* (Z. 19-20).

Das Beweisverfahren bildete mit den übrigen Verfahrensteilen eine Einheit, wobei der Richter in der Zulassung und anschließenden Würdigung der vorgebrachten Beweismittel frei war⁶⁴.

Nr. 1; A. VASSILEIOU, *Crispinus et les conseillers du prince* (Juvénal, *Satires IV*), *Latomus* 43 (1984), S. 27-68; B.W. JONES, *Domitian*, S. 69-70. S. dazu auch J. CROOK, *op. cit.* (Anm. 55), S. 48-49; W. KUNKEL, *ZRG* 85 (1968), S. 281.

⁶⁰ Iuv., *Sat.* IV 78-79; s. dazu *PIR*¹ P 164; J. CROOK, *op. cit.* (Anm. 55), S. 50, 177 Nr. 251; E. CHAMPLIN, *Pegasus*, *ZPE* 32 (1978), S. 269-278; A. VASSILEIOU, *Latomus* 43 (1984), S. 49 Nr. 65; B.W. JONES, *Domitian*, S. 54-55.

⁶¹ Zu Ursus s. *PIR*² J 630; R. SYME, *Guard Prefects of Traian and Hadrian*, *JRS* 70 (1980), S. 66 = *Roman Papers* III, Oxford 1984, S. 1279-1280; DERS., *Domitian: The Last Years*, *Chiron* 13 (1983), S. 129 = *Roman Papers* IV, Oxford 1988, S. 261; B.W. JONES, *Domitian*, S. 60. Zu Fuscus s. *PIR*² C 1365; H.-G. PFLAUM, *op. cit.* (Anm. 56) I, S. 77-80 Nr. 34; B.W. JONES, a.a.O.

⁶² S. dazu die Zusammenstellung der 20 *amici* sowie einiger weiterer Höflinge bei B.W. JONES, *Domitian*, S. 50-61, 69-71.

⁶³ M. KASER, *ZP*, S. 384-387; DERS., *PR*², S. 424-425. Eine in späterer Zeit wichtige Spezialform der normalen Fristeinrede stellte die *longi temporis praescriptio* dar, die allerdings erst unter Septimius Severus im Reichsrecht anerkannt wurde und in der Rechtsprechung der Provinzen des Imperium Romanum zunächst als Vorstufe, im 2. und 3. Jh. sogar als eine Erscheinungsform der *usucapio* galt.

Zu den frühen Formen der *longi temporis praescriptio* s. *BGU* I 267 + *P. Strasb.* I 22 = *FIRA* I 84/85; *FIRA* I 86; Plin., *Ep.* X 110.2; *P. Flor.* I 61; *P. Oxy.* I 68. Diese Einrede erforderte den Erwerb *iusta causa* und anschließend zehn- bzw. zwanzigjährigen Besitz; s. dazu *PS* V 5a.8.

⁶⁴ M. KASER, *ZP*, S. 346, 389.

Mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit stützten sich beide Seiten auf Urkundenbeweise⁶⁵. Eine zentrale Rolle spielte dabei die *forma publica*, die offizielle Karte, welche das Territorium der gesamten Kolonie darstellte und deren Aufstellung als Bronzetafel zusammen mit der *machina groma sublata* die Vollendung des Gründungsaktes einer solchen Gemeinde darstellte⁶⁶. Daneben wurden bei der Gründung einer Kolonie eine Reihe von weiteren Dokumenten — die *libri aeris*, *divisiones* und *commentarii* — erstellt. Diese enthielten die Namen der Landempfänger und die Lage und Größe ihrer Grundstücke, die Listen der noch nicht assignierten Flurstücke und der *subsiciva* sowie den *liber beneficiorum*, d.h. die Aufzählung der der Kolonie geschenkten Gebiete⁶⁷. Die Originale dieser Verzeichnisse wurden im Archiv der Gemeinde aufbewahrt. Von der Karte wurde regelmäßig eine beglaubigte Kopie auf Leinwand (*linteum* oder *mappa*) angefertigt⁶⁸, die zusammen mit den Duplikaten der übrigen Urkunden im kaiserlichen Archiv, dem *sanctuarium Caesaris*, hinterlegt wurde⁶⁹.

Wir dürfen annehmen, daß beide Kolonien ihre Archivbestände präsentierten. Zu denjenigen der Kolonie Falerio müßte zwangsläufig auch der Brief des Augustus mit der *admonitio* (Z. 23) gehört haben. Vermutlich war nach der Benachrichtigung der Gemeinde von der Verfah-

⁶⁵ Zur Verwendung von Urkunden im Beweisverfahren des Cognitionsprozesses s. Gord., Diocl., C. IV 21.5, 13; Scaev., Dig. IL 1.28.1; Alex., C. III 42.4; Sev. Ant., C. II 1.2; PS V 12.16 = Dig. IL 14.45.7; s. dazu M. KASER, ZP, S. 389; E. SEIDL, op. cit. (Anm. 53), S. 178-181; bes. 181 Rdnr. 457.

⁶⁶ Sic. Flaccus, Feldmesser I, S. 154.16; M. Iunius Nipsus, Feldmesser I, S. 293.4-5; s. auch Lib. colon. I, Feldmesser I, S. 244.4. Die offizielle Karte wurde in eine Bronzetafel geschnitten (*aes fixum*) und zusammen mit dem Meßwerkzeug auf dem Forum oder im Tabularium der Kolonie ausgestellt; s. dazu A. RUDORFF, GrInst, S. 404-406. Zu den Möglichkeiten der Verwendung dieser Urkundenbeweise im Prozeß vgl. M. KASER, PR², S. 375, der schreibt, daß weder die Grundkataster noch die Errungenschaften der Feldmeßtechnik dem Privatrechtsverkehr dienten.

⁶⁷ Sic. Flaccus, Feldmesser I, S. 154.26 (s. Anm. 69); Hyg., Feldmesser I, S. 201.2-6, 202.5, 202.15, 202.18-203.2; M. Iunius Nipsus, Feldmesser I, S. 295.12-14; s. A. RUDORFF, GrInst, S. 405-406.

⁶⁸ Lib. colon. I, Feldmesser I, S. 244.13; Cod. Th. XI 27; s. A. RUDORFF, GrInst, S. 405.

⁶⁹ Sic. Flaccus, Feldmesser I, S. 154.19-155.2: *quidam formas, quorum mentio habita est, in aere scalpserunt, id est in aereis tabulis scripserunt. hi tamen quidquid instituerunt curandum erit ut fide aestimetur, nequis voluntario finem proferat. illa tantum fides videatur quae aereis tabulis manifestata est. quod si quis contra dicat, sanctuarium Caesaris respici solet. omnium enim agrorum et divisorum et assignatorum formas, sed et divisionem et commentarios, et principatus in sanctuario habet. qualescumque enim formae fuerint, si ambigatur de earum fide, ad sanctuarium principis revertendum erit.*

renseröffnung eine Liste der Bodenbesitzverhältnisse in der *subsiciva* erstellt worden. In dieses Verzeichnis waren, soweit dies möglich war, die rechtlichen Status der *possessores* (z.B. Eigentümer oder Pächter, Okkupant, Inbesitznahme des Bodens durch Kauf, Verpachtung oder Erbe) seit der Koloniegründung eingetragen worden. Ob darüber hinaus weitere Beweismittel wie Kauf- oder Pachtverträge oder Beschlüsse des *ordo decurionum* vorgelegt werden konnten, ist nicht bekannt. Weniger wahrscheinlich ist, daß die Verhandlungsdelegation von Falerio Zeugen aufbot, um beispielsweise die *vetustas possessionis* zu beenden.

Falls das kaiserliche Mahnschreiben aufgrund einer Intervention der Firmaner bei Augustus geschrieben worden war, könnte es als Abschrift zur Kenntnissnahme auch in das Archiv der klagenden Gemeinde gelangt sein. In jedem Fall müßte das kaiserliche *sanctuarium* eine Originalkopie der *epistula* besessen haben, die im Prozeß als Beweismittel herangezogen werden konnte.

IV. DAS URTEIL

Das Urteil im Grundstücksstreit zwischen Falerio und Firmum erging vollständig im Sinne der beklagten Grundbesitzer. Das firmanische Ersuchen nach Bodenrestitution in der *subsiciva* wurde verworfen, und Domitian bestätigte das *ius possessorum* explizit (Z. 27).

Es war den Vertretern von Firmum nicht gelungen, den Nachweis zu führen, daß das umstrittene Gebiet unrechtmäßig in den Besitz von Bürgern der Gemeinde Falerio gelangt war.

Für die privaten Grundbesitzer dieser Flurstücke bedeutete dies eine Bestätigung ihrer Eigentumsrechte, wenn sie oder ihre Vorfahren das Land von der Kolonie Falerio gekauft hatten. Falls die *possessores* dagegen Grundstücke in der *subsiciva* als Pächter bewirtschafteten, bedeutete das Urteil für sie, daß die zugrundeliegenden Zeit- und Erbpachtverträge in Kraft blieben⁷⁰. Sollte ein Teil der Grundbesitzer tatsächlich aus Okkupanten bestanden haben, bekräftigte das Urteil die Möglichkeiten, den bewirtschafteten Grund bei Nachweis eines rechtlich einwandfreien Erwerbsgrundes durch *usucapio* in Besitz zu nehmen.

Aus den bisher gemachten Beobachtungen kann geschlossen werden, daß folgende Gründe für die Entscheidung des Gerichts ausschlaggebend waren:

⁷⁰ S. dazu Th. MOMMSEN, *Zur Geschichte der Erbpacht*, ZRG (1902), S. 443 mit Anm. 1.

1. Die rechtmäßige Übertragung firmanischen Territoriums durch Augustus stand nach der Überzeugung des Gerichts außer Frage. Dies galt sowohl für das der Limitation unterworfen und assignierte Land als auch für die *subsiciva*, die zugunsten der Stadtkasse von Falerio verkauft werden sollte. Das nicht verteilte Land war mit der *traditio* zu Gemeindeland der neuen augusteischen Kolonie geworden.
2. Seitens der Kolonie Firmum Picenum konnte kein überzeugender Beweis dafür geführt werden, daß die Falerienser der augusteischen *admonitio*, die Grundstücke zu verkaufen, nicht nachgekommen waren.

Es gelang den Prozeßvertretern von Falerio vermutlich aufgrund von Urkundenbeweisen der Nachweis, daß seit der Koloniegründung mit den umstrittenen Flurstücken im Sinne des *auctor divisionis* verfahren worden war.

3. Eine besondere Rolle scheint allerdings auch der Gedanke an die Bewahrung der Rechtssicherheit gespielt zu haben. Nachdem in der Zeit zwischen dem Sommer 75 und dem Herrschaftsantritt Domitians erhebliche Unruhe unter den Grundbesitzern Italiens geherrscht hatte, räumte der junge Kaiser der Beruhigung der Lage einen hohen Stellenwert ein.

Die einzelnen Grundbesitzer in der *subsiciva* konnten, selbst wenn sie nicht in jedem Fall den juristisch einwandfreien Beweis ihrer Eigentumsrechte führen konnten, sich auf das Recht der *usucapio* und den damit erworbenen Interdiktschutz berufen.

Domitian erkannte in dem Grundstücksprozeß die rechtliche Bindungswirkung der seit Generationen bestehenden Verhältnisse an, als er verkündete *cum possessorum securitati vel minus multi anni sufficere possint* (Z. 19-20).

Das Urteil wurde zunächst mündlich verkündet und begründet. Drei Tage später wurde beiden Gesandtschaften ein Schreiben des Kaisers ausgehändigt, das den Richterspruch selbst und eine kurze Zusammenfassung der Entscheidungsgründe umfaßte⁷¹.

Der Urteilsspruch im Cognitionsverfahren hatte den Charakter einer verbindlichen Anordnung, was in den Formulierungen *quid constituerim* (Z. 6) und *possessorum ius confirmo* (Z. 27) zum Ausdruck kommt⁷².

⁷¹ S. dazu F. MILLAR, *op. cit.* (Anm. 13), S. 218-219.

⁷² Noch deutlicher wird dies in Entscheidungen, in denen die Verben *iubere* (Ulp., *Dig.* XLII 1.59 pr.) und *statuere* (Ulp., *Dig.* XXVII 2.5) verwendet wurden; s. dazu M. KASER, *ZP*, S. 391.

Nachdem der Kaiser geurteilt hatte, gab es für die unterlegene Gemeinde keine Appellationsmöglichkeit und keine Gelegenheit zur Wiederaufnahme mehr.

Da die Entscheidung in dem Rechtsstreit so vollständig zugunsten der beklagten Partei ergangen war, ließ in der Zeit nach dem 22. Juli 82 wohl nur die Kolonie Falerio den Urteilstext in Bronze gravieren⁷³.

V. BEDEUTUNG FÜR DIE RECHTSPFLEGE

M. Kaser hat darauf hingewiesen, daß das Cognitionsverfahren «auf die rechtsschöpferische Initiative des Princeps in seinem autonomen Bereich (zurückgeht)»⁷⁴ und daß sich in ihm sein «rechtssetzender Wille» manifestiert⁷⁵.

Die Versuche des Vespasian und des Titus, durch ein nachdrückliches Aufgreifen des Besitzanspruches auf okkupiertes staatseigenes Land dem *fiscus* neue Einnahmequellen zu erschließen, hatten für Unruhe und Proteste unter den Landbesitzern und zu einem hohen Maß an Rechtsunsicherheit geführt. Gerade zu Beginn seiner Regierungszeit war Domitian bemüht, sich mit seiner Politik positiv gegenüber seinem älteren Bruder und wohl auch seinem Vater zu profilieren⁷⁶.

Nachdem Vespasian schon nach vielfältigen Protesten die Einziehungsmaßnahmen gestoppt hatte, bot sich hier für den jungen Kaiser die Gelegenheit, eine wirtschafts- und sozialpolitische Modellentscheidung zu treffen. Das Urteil im Grundstücksstreit zwischen Firmum und Falerio war, wie Crook schreibt: «another of those cases in which judicial and administrative considerations overlap»⁷⁷. Domitian lagen die Wohlfahrt der italischen Landwirtschaft und die Sicherung der Lebensmittelversorgung durchaus am Herzen. Neben gesetzgeberischen Maßnahmen⁷⁸ kam

⁷³ So schon F. MILLAR, *op. cit.* (Anm. 13), S. 436.

⁷⁴ M. KASER, *ZP*, S. 340.

⁷⁵ M. KASER, *ZP*, S. 345.

⁷⁶ S. dazu auch R. WEYNAND, in *RE* IV 2 (1909), Sp. 2581; vgl. dazu die Kapitel „Administration I“ und „Administration II“ bei B.W. JONES, *Domitian*, S. 72-125.

⁷⁷ J. CROOK, *op. cit.* (Anm. 55), S. 49.

⁷⁸ Das bekannteste Beispiel für aktive Eingriffe dieses Kaisers in die Landwirtschaft repräsentiert das berühmte 90/91 erlassene Weinedikt (Suet., *Dom.* 7.2, 14.2; Stat., *Silv.* IV 3.11-12; vgl. Philostr., *Vit. Soph.* 520). Mit dem Befehl, in Italien keine neuen Weingärten mehr anzulegen und diejenigen in den Provinzen zur Hälfte zu zerstören, versuchte er, die Getreideproduktion anzukurbeln; s. dazu M. FINLEY, *Die antike Wirtschaft*, München 1980², S. 204-205 Anm. 47; F. DE MARTINO, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des alten Rom*, München 1985, S. 257-258; B.W. JONES, *Domitian*, S. 77-78.

hierbei dem Anreiz zur kontinuierlichen und intensiven Bodennutzung große Bedeutung zu. Die Entscheidung des Kaisers, den bisherigen Grundbesitzern rechtlich abgesichertes Eigentum in der *subsiciva* von Falerio zu gewähren, verstärkte die Bindung dieser Personengruppe an ihren Boden.

Domitian versprach sich von einer solchen Stärkung der Besitzerrechte positive Effekte für die gesamte italische Landwirtschaft. Das Urteil diene wahrscheinlich als direktes Vorbild für das durch Sueton und die Gromaticer bezeugte Edikt, das vielleicht anlässlich der Übertragung der *censoria potestas* im April 85 oder des Amtes eines *censor perpetuus* gegen Ende desselben Jahres erlassen wurde⁷⁹. Darin bestimmte der Kaiser die Überführung der *subsicivae* in das Eigentum der gegenwärtigen Besitzer. Er erkannte sogar ausdrücklich das Recht der *usucapio* an solchen Flurstücken an, welche bei früheren Veteranen deduktionen nicht zur Verteilung gekommen waren⁸⁰.

Durch diese Maßnahme wurde vermutlich einer größeren Anzahl von Rechtsstreitigkeiten die Grundlage entzogen und Frontinus schrieb mit Recht:

praestantissimus postea Domitianus ad hoc beneficium procurrit et uno edicto totius Italiae metum liberavit⁸¹.

D-69121 Heidelberg
Zeppelinstraße 175

Joachim OTT

⁷⁹ Zur Censur des Domitian s. R. WEYNAND, in *RE* VI 2 (1909), Sp. 2559-2561, der die Übertragung der einfachen *censoria potestas* allerdings fälschlicherweise ins Jahr 84 datiert; vgl. dagegen B.W. JONES, *Domitian*, S. 106-107, mit der richtigen Chronologie, der aber hauptsächlich die moralischen Aspekte der Censorentätigkeit aufgreift.

⁸⁰ Suet., *Dom.* 9.3: *subseciva, quae divisae per veteranos agris carptim superfuerunt veteribus possessoribus, ut usucapta, concessit*; Hyg., *Feldmesser* I, S. 133.12-14: *per totam Italiam subsiciva possidentibus donavit*; Sic. Flaccus, *Feldmesser* I, S. 163.13-14: *de quibus Domitianus finem statuit, id est possessoribus ea concessit*; Agr. *quae sit inspectio*, *Feldmesser* I, S. 284.4-7: *quae cum velut communis iuris aut publici essent, possessionibus vicinis tunc Domitianus imp. profudit, [hoc est] ut eis lineis arcifinalem vel occupatoriam licentiam tribueret*. A. RUDORFF, *GrInst.*, S. 392-393, hat mit Bezug auf Front., *Feldmesser* I, S. 53.23, darauf hingewiesen, daß unter den bei Sueton genannten *veteres possessores* die Grundbesitzer zu verstehen sind, die ihren Boden seit sehr langer Zeit schon in tatsächlicher Sachherrschaft bestellten.

Überlegungen zur Vorbildfunktion des Urteils für das spätere allgemeine Edikt schon bei R. WEYNAND, in *RE* VI 2 (1909), Sp. 2586.

⁸¹ Front., *Feldmesser* I, S. 54.11-13.

A NEW PAPYRUS (*P. EGYPT. MUS. INV. S.R. 3055*)
AND THE EQUESTRIAN OFFICERS FROM ROMAN EGYPT*

In a recent paper Alia Hanafi published *Three Applications from Oxyrhynchus*, dated 1 July of the year 127 A.D. (*P. Egypt. Mus. inv. S.R. 3055*)¹. The second of these ‘applications’, concerning a loan of money, is of interest to us here, in particular Hanafi’s interpretation of the career of the *archidikastes* mentioned².

1. Let us first look at the passage of this newly published papyrus that will occupy us here:

vac. 1.6 cm.

Οὐηστινιανός Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ καὶ Λεωνίδης ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ
ἀρχιδικ[αστῆς]
τῷ τοῦ Ἡρακλεο(πολίτου) στρατηγῷ χαί(ρειν). τοῦ
δεδομ(ένου) ὑπομνήματος ἀντίγρα(φον) σύ[ν-]
ταξο(ν) μεταδοθ(ῆναι) ὥς ὑπὸκ(εῖται). ἔρρω(σο). (ἔτους) ια
Αὐτοκράτορος Καيسάρως Τραιανο[ῦ]
Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Φαμενώθ κη Οὐηστινιαν[ιανῶ]ι
Ἀσκ[ληπιάδῃ]ι
5 τῷ καὶ Λεωνίδῃι Λεωνίδου ἐξηγητεύσαντος γ[ενόμεν]ωι
ἐπάρχωι σπεί-]
ρης τρίτης Βρακῶν καὶ πρώτης Θρακῶν ἱερεῖ καὶ
ἀρχιδικαστῇι καὶ]

* This paper presents research results of the Belgian programme of ‘Inter-University Poles of Attraction’ (IUAP/PIA 28) initiated by the Belgian government, Prime Minister’s Office, Science Policy Programming. With thanks to Margaret M. Roxan (London), W. Clarysse and P. Van Dessel (Leuven) for sundry assistance.

Note the following abbreviations:

H. DEVIJVER, *PME = Prosopographia Militiarum Equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum* (*Symbolae Facultatis Litterarum et Philosophiae Lovaniensis*, Series A/3), 5 vol., Leuven 1976-1993.

H. DEVIJVER, *Mavors VI = The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, vol. I (*Mavors. Roman Army Researches*, VI), Amsterdam 1989.

H. DEVIJVER, *Mavors IX = The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, vol. II (*Mavors. Roman Army Researches*, IX), Stuttgart 1992.

Journal sigla are those of *L’Année Philologique*.

¹ A. HANAFI, *Three Applications from Oxyrhynchus*, in *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. A.H.S. EL-MOSALAMY, Cairo 1992, p. 557-580, esp. 561-577; see also B. KRAMER, *Urkundenreferat*, *APF* 40 (1994), p. 204-205 no. 3; H. DEVIJVER, *A New Roman Auxiliary Cohort in Egypt? P. Egypt. Mus. inv. S.R. 3055*, *ZPE* 104 (1994), p. 69-72.

² A. HANAFI, *art. cit.*, p. 563-564.

πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελ(εῖαι) τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
κριτηρίων]
παρὰ Κανώπου καὶ Ἰσιδώρου κα[ὶ Ἀρείου καὶ Ἀρήου
Ἀπολλώιου υἱῶν] *etc.*

A. Hanafi refers to another papyrus in which the same *archidikastes* appears³:

2. *P. Mil. Vogl.* (= *P. Primi*) I 25, col. v, ll. 10-13 (= *SB VI Bhft. 2* no. 3) — 127 A.D. (May-June):

 πεῖθεσθαι, ποιῆσθαι τ[ε ὥστε ἐ]κάτερον αὐτῶν ἰδίαν
 ἐπειθ[έ]σθαι
 σφραγεῖδαν καὶ εἰληφέ[ναι] ἐν παρακαταθήκη κλεῖν, μηδ' ἐν
 νοσφισάμενον. Ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀρχιδικαστῆς· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ
 Πάτρω[ν]
 καταδεῆς φαίνεται καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἀφῆλικας λέγεται ἔχειν, ὁ
 τ[οῦ]
5 νομοῦ στρατηγὸς κ[ατ]αστήσας αὐτῶν ὃν ἐὰν δοκιμάσῃ
 ἐ[πί]τρο-
 πον δυνάμενον [αὐτ]ῷ Πάτρωσι συστήναι, διαγνώσεται πε-
 ρὶ τοῦ πράγματος. Θαυβαρίου ἀξιωσάσης ὀρισθῆ[ναι] προ-
 θεσμίαν κα[ὶ χειρο]γραφῆσαι τὸν Παυλεῖνον ἐν τ[α]ύτῃ
 [ἐσό-
 μενον εἰς τὸν νο[μὸν] καταστήναι ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγο[ῦ, μ]ὴ
10 τὰ ἐπισφραγι[σ]θῆ[ν]τα τῷ χρόνῳ διαφθαρεῖ. Ἰο[ύ]λιος
 ᾽Οηστεινεια[νὸς] Ἀ[σκ]ληπειάδης, ὁ καὶ Λεονίδη[ς],
 γε[ν]όμ[ενος]
 ἐπαρχὸς σπεῖρα[ς] τρίτης [Θ]ρακῶν καὶ πρώτης [Θ]ρακ[ῶν]
 ὁ εἱερεὺς [καὶ ἀρχιδικασ]τῆς· ἀμφοτέρω χειρογρα[φῆ]σαι
 ἐν ἡμέραις τρι[τάκον]τα ἀναπλεύ[α]ντας ἐν[τ]υχ[εῖν] τῷ στρα-
15 τηγῷ. ἐξή[.....] Ἰσιδωρος νεώτε[ρ]ος ὑπη[ρέτης].

There is, however, a third papyrus, which Hanafi has overlooked and in which the *archidikastes* in question appears yet again:

3. *P. Mil. Vogl.* VI 264 — 127 A.D.:

 Τιβερίῳ Ἰουλίῳ Οὐεστινιανῷ Ἀ[σ]κλη-
 πιάδῃ τῷ καὶ Λεωνίδῃ ἱερί καὶ ἀρχιδ(ικαστῇ)
 παρὰ Πάτρωνος τοῦ Γεμείνου. ὁ π[α]ρὰ
 μητρὸς που πάππος Ἡρακλείδης
5 Σωκράτους ἐτελεύτησεν ἐπὶ τέ μοι
 καταδεῖ καὶ ἀφῆλιξί μου ἀδελφοῖς καὶ
 θυγατρίδοις καὶ θυγατρὶ Θαυβαροῦτι
 Ad l. 1 — *BL VII*, p. 123: Οὐηστινιανῷ.

³ A. HANAFI, *art. cit.*, p. 563.

It is obvious that all three papyri concern one and the same *archidikastes*, whose full name is Tib. Iulius Vestinianus Asklepiades, qui et Leonidas. He was the son of Leonidas, a former *exegetes* (text 1). His father, designated by his Greek name, apparently did not possess the *civitas Romana*. The son, on the other hand, was not only a Roman citizen, but had also already ascended to the *ordo equester*, for he had held two *praefecturae cohortis* (texts 1 + 2: ἑπαρχος σπείρης)⁴. Before discussing this career, let us first take a look at this family's social rise. Leonidas junior, the son, presumably obtained the citizenship and the *ordo equester* through his patron, L. Iulius Vestinus, Hadrian's *ad epistulis*⁵. This L. Iulius Vestinus had been *archiereus Alexandriae et totius Aegypti* and 'director of the Museum'. After his visit to Egypt in 130 Hadrian probably took this man of letters back with him to Rome, where he became *procurator bibliothecarum* (βιβλιοθηκῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν) and *a studiis* and *ab epistulis Hadriani*⁶. L. Iulius Vestinus was presumably the influential patron of the family of Leonidas. The son probably acquired the citizenship and equestrian status through Vestinus' intercession, hence the *nomen gentilicium* 'Iulius' and the *cognomen* 'Vestinianus'. The family of this L. Iulius Vestinus in its turn presumably owed its citizenship, and perhaps its equestrian status as well, to the mediation of the homonymous *praefectus Aegypti* L. Iulius Vestinus⁷, who hailed from Vienna in Gallia Narbonensis and belonged to the circle of friends of the Emperor Claudius. Claudius mentioned him by name in his celebrated oration at Lyon in 48 on the *ius honorum* of the Gauls⁸: «... ex qua colonia (Viennensium) inter paucos equestris ordinis ornamentum L. Vestinum familiarissime diligo et hodie in rebus meis detineo, ...» We do not know which function L. Iulius Vestinus held in the year 48 in Claudius' service. But it is not at all surprising that he rose to one of the highest offices of the equestrian *cursus*: *praefectus Aegypti* (59-62 A.D.)⁹.

⁴ H. DEVIJVER, *PME* I, IV, V, I138.

⁵ H.-G. PFLAUM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, Paris 1960, p. 245-247 no. 105; S. DEMOUGIN, *Prosopographie des chevaliers romains julio-claudiens*, Roma-Paris 1992, p. 574-575 no. 683.

⁶ H.-G. PFLAUM, *op. cit.*, p. 245-247 no. 105.

⁷ H.-G. PFLAUM, *op. cit.*, p. 50-51 no. 19; S. DEMOUGIN, *op. cit.*, p. 574-575 no. 683.

⁸ *CIL* XIII 1668 II l. 10 ff = ILS 212 (Ara Romae et Augusti, Lugdunum, Gallia Lugdunensis).

⁹ P. BURETH, *Le préfet d'Égypte (30 av. J.C. – 297 ap. J.C.): Etat présent de la documentation en 1973*, in *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988), p. 478; G. BASTIANINI, *Il prefetto d'Egitto (30 a.C. – 297 d.C.): Addenda (1973-1985)*, in *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988), p. 505.

And so epigraphy, papyrology and the prosopographical method combine to expose the mechanisms of social promotion in the Early Empire.

Let us return to the career of Tib. Iulius Vestinianus. Papyrus texts 1 and 2 provide information on his *cursus*. In text 3 he is designated merely as ‘hiereus’ and as ‘archidikastes’¹⁰.

Text 1 presents the fullest account of Vestinianus’ career (ll. 12-14): γ[ενόμενῳ ἐπάρχῳ σπεί]λης τρίτης Βρακῶν καὶ πρώτης Θρακῶν ἱ[ερεῖ καὶ ἀρχιδικαστῇ καὶ] ἰ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελ(είᾳ) τῶν χρημα-τισ[τῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων].

Especially the posts that Tib. Iulius Vestinianus held as equestrian officer will hold our attention. These *militiae* are also mentioned in text 2 as follows (ll. 11-12): γε[νόμ]ενος ἰ ἑπαρχος σπείρα[ς] τρίτης [Θ]ρακῶν καὶ πρώτης [Θ]ρακ[ῶν] — i.e. ex praefecto cohortis III [Th]racum et I [Th]racum.

A. Hanafi¹¹ compares the versions of papyrus texts 1 and 2 and concludes that in the first text the reading Βρακῶν is certain in the passage [ἐπάρχῳ σπεί]λης τρίτης Βρακῶν. In text 2 the reading [Θ]ρακ[ῶν] rests on the supplementation of the initial Θ.

If A. Hanafi’s reading is correct, what then does ἑπαρχος σπείρης τρίτης Βρακῶν mean? In other words, which Latin word is rendered by the Greek translation Βρακῶν?

Hanafi’s interpretation is as follows¹²:

«First, in our document the word Βρακῶν in line 13 is a certain reading, ... Consequently, in *P. Mil.* 25, col. V, L. 12, the word must be restored [B]ρακῶν as in our document.

Secondly, the dictionaries say that the word Βρακῶν originally is the Latin word *braccae* meaning “breeches or trews” worn by the Gauls (see *LSJ*, βρακαὶ s.v.). Its synonym in Greek is ἀναξυρίδες which is of Persian origin ...

Consequently, we may conclude that the term Βρακῶν here should mean “trews-wearers” although it is not an epithet, and we have to consider it as a generic term for barbarians. In other words, we can say briefly that this term “trews-wearers” here means the “Gauls” (*sic*) ...

¹⁰ A. CALABI, *L’archidicasts nei primi tre secoli della dominazione romana, Aegyptus* 32 (1952), p. 406-424; P.J. SIJPESTEIJN, *The Family of the Tiberii Iulii Theones*, Amsterdam 1976, p. 129-148 (Appendix B).

¹¹ A. HANAFI, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 563-564.

¹² A. HANAFI, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 563-564.

Turning back to our document, I think that [ἐπαρχῶι σπεί]ρης τρίτης Βρακῶν should be translated “formerly prefect of the third cohort of the Gauls”. Consequently we can say that in 127 A.D. there was a cohort of Gauls in Egypt and this must be added to the list of cohorts and *alae*...»

This whole reasoning is highly peculiar! Why would the Romans have designated an official unit of their army with a term carrying the negative connotation of ‘barbarians’? What proof is there that these ‘barbarians’ were ‘Gauls’? What proof is there that this ‘cohors III Gal-lorum’ was stationed in Egypt?

The point of departure that the term Βρακῶν is the Greek translation of a Latin word is in my view the only correct and valuable point in Hanafi’s argumentation; but it is highly unlikely that *braccæ* was the Latin word the translator was coping with. The *cohortes* and *alae* of the Roman *auxilia* were usually designated by an ethnic. Such an ethnic referred to the tribe or people from which the unit in question was recruited. Possibly the Latin *cohortis Bracarum* was the origin of the Greek σπείρης Βρακῶν. The Greek translator took the Latin *Bracarum* to be a genitive plural of ‘*Bracæ*’, which led to a perfectly normal Greek form Βρακῶν.

The *Bracari* were the inhabitants of the capital *Bracara* of the Spanish province Gallaecia. The town was also called *Bracara Augusta*, its inhabitants *Bracaraugustani* or *Augustani*. In the literary sources we find the Greek equivalent Βράκαρες — Βρακάριοι¹³.

This region supplied several cohorts to the Roman *auxilia*; they are called *cohortes Bracarum* or *cohortes Bracaraugustanorum*¹⁴. J. Benes¹⁵ believes a distinction should be made between the *cohortes Bracarum* (sometimes also *Bracarorum*) and the *cohortes Bracaraugustanorum*: the former were recruited from the tribal area of the *Bracari*, Callaecia, while the *Bracaraugustani* were drawn from the capital of the territory, viz. the town *Bracara Augusta*; P. Le Roux, however, holds that the words *Bracari* and *Bracaraugustani* could refer to the same entity¹⁶.

¹³ RE III (1899), col. 802, s.v. *Bracara Augusta, Bracari*.

¹⁴ RE IV (1901), col. 255-257, s.v. *cohortes Bracarum*; P.A. HOLDER, *The Auxilia from Augustus to Trajan*, in *BAR Int. Ser.*, Oxford 1980, p. 235.

¹⁵ J. BENES, *Bracares (Bracari) im römischen Heer an der unteren Donau*, LF 93 (1970), p. 239-245.

¹⁶ P. LE ROUX, *Les auxilia romains recrutées chez les Bracari et l'organisation politique du Nord-Ouest hispanique*, *Revista de Guimarães* 3 (1980), p. 43-65.

A survey of the known commanders of the *cohortes Bracarum* / *Bracaraugustanorum* may prove enlightening.

1. M. Acilius [M.f. P]riscus (*PME* I, IV, V, A10)
 - praef. cohort[is – –] Baracara (*sic*) Augustanor[um] (quae cohors? ubi? — ante aet. Domitiani).
 - Italicus, Ostia.
2. P. Aelius P.fil. Palatina Marcianus (*PME* I, IV, V, A44; cfr A43)
 - praef. coh. I Augustae Bracarum (Dacia Inferior? — aet. Ant. Pii).
 - Origo?
3. A. Atinius M.f. Ouf(entina) Murra (*PME* I, IV, A182)
 - praef. coh. II Bracar(um) Augustan(or)um (Moesia Inferior? — aet. Traiani).
 - Italicus, Roma?
4. C. Aufidius C.fil. Q(uirina) Maximus (*PME* I, V, A197)
 - praef. cohort. III Bracarum in Iudaea (Iudaea — aet. Hadriani).
 - Cirta, Numidia.
5. Ti. Claudius Claudianus (*PME* I, IV, V, C133)
 - praef. c[oh.] I Bracar(um) August(anorum) (Dalmatia — ca. a. 50).
 - Tudae, Hispania Tarraconensis.
6. Ti. Claudius L.f. Helvius Secundus (*PME* I, IV, V, C143)
 - praef. coh. equitatae II Bracar(um) Augustanorum (Moesia Inferior — a. 98/99).
 - Caesarea, Mauretania Caesariensis.
7. Ti. Cl(audius) Proculus Cornelianus (*PME* I, IV, V, C174)
 - praef. coh. II Bra(carum) (ubi? — aet. Ant. Pii).
 - Africanus?
8. [..] Cominius [..]f. Claud(ia) Bonus Agricola L[a]elius Aper (*PME* I, IV, V, C220)
 - praef. cohort[t.] tert(iae) Bracaraugustano(rum) (Raetia? — ex-unte II s.).
 - Concordia, Regio X, Italia.
9. [C. Cupp]ienus C.f. Pol(lia) [Terminalis] (*PME* IV, C257bis)
 - praef. coh. III Bracar[um] in Syr(ia) Pal[ae]s(tina) (Syria Palaestina — medio II s.).
 - Fanum Fortunae, Regio VI, Italia.
10. M. Fabius M.f. Papir(ia) Mettianus (*PME* I, V, F10)
 - praef. coh. III Bracar(um) (ubi? — II s.).
 - Segermes, Africa Proconsularis.
11. T. Furius L.f. Pal(atina) Victorinus (*PME* I, IV, V, F100)
 - [praef.] coh. Bracarum in Brit[annia – –] (sc. coh. I Bracarum; Britannia — aet. Hadriani).
 - Italicus, Roma?

12. M. Lurius M.fil. Arn(ensi) Faustus Caecilianus (*PME* IV, V, L38bis)
 - praef. coh. II Bra(carum) (ubi? — II s.?).
 - Belalis Maior, Africa Proconsularis.
13. Q. Papirius Q.f. Pup(inia) Maxi[mus] (*PME* II, P13)
 - praef. coh. III Bracar(um) August[an(orum)] q(uae) e(st) in Raetia (Raetia — I parte II s.?).
 - Italicus, Roma?
14. L. — aut — T. Pomponiu[s — —] (*PME* IV, V, P71bis)
 - [coh.] III Bra[caraugust(anorum)] (Raetia — ca. a. 140/144).
 - Origo?
15. A. Seius Zosimianus (*PME* II, S14)
 - praef. cohort. III Bracaraug(ustanorum) (ubi? — inter a. 138-161).
 - Italicus.
16. M. Stlaccius C.f. Col(lina) Coranus (*PME* II, IV, V, S81)
 - praef. coh. V Bracar(um) Augustanorum in Germania (Germania — ca. a. 43).
 - Italicus, Roma.
17. [— —] (*PME* II, V, Inc. 222)
 - pra[ef. coh. I (?) Brac]arum Augustanorum (Moesia Inferior — exeunte I s.?).
 - Vasio, Gallia Narbonensis.

This survey does not contain a Greek version of a *cohors Bracarum / Bracaraugustanorum*. But precisely at the time of writing — July 1994 — the excavations of the University of Leuven at Sagalassos in Pisidia (Ağlasun, Southern Turkey) unearthed a fragmentary Greek inscription¹⁷ with the career of an equestrian officer — his name has not survived — who commanded a *cohors Bracarum*:

18. [— —]
 - ἑπαρχος τεχνειτῶν (praefectus fabrum, probably in the service of a provincial governor in the East).
 - ἑπαρχ[ος] σπειρης γ´ Βρακάτης (praefectus cohortis III Bracarum — presumably in Iudaea / Syria Palaestina).
 - χειλίαρχος λεγεῶνος δ´ Σκυθικῆς (tribunus legionis III Scythicae; Zeugma, Syria; see H. DEVIJVER, *Commanders and Officers of Legio III Scythica (Seleukeia ad Euphratem / Zeugma)*, in *The Roman Army in the East. [Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplement]*, ed. D.L. KENNEDY, forthcoming).
 - ἑπαρχος εἰλης ζ´ Φρυγῶν (praefectus alae VII Phrygum; Syria; *PME* I A182, C116, C143, C168, H3, I55, I123; *PME* II N6, V30, Inc. 86; *PME* V, Suppl. II, Inc. 152ter).

¹⁷ I will publish this inscription in *Sagalassos* IV.

This career may be situated in the first half of the second century, perhaps under Hadrian. The anonymous officer probably belonged to the elite of Sagalassos. He financed the *agones* in honour of Apollo Clarius (Il. 4-5: ὅπ' αὐτοῦ Κλαρεῖων ἀλ[γώνω]ν; Il. 8-12: τὰς εἰκόλνας καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας τῆς ἰ πάλης τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ἀνατίθεντα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων εἰς τὸν αἰλῶνα).

Besides the translation in our papyrus, viz. ἑπαρχος σπείρης τρίτης Βρακῶν, we find in Sagalassos: ἑπαρχ[ο]ς σπείρης γ' Βρακάτης. In two inscriptions from Moesia we read: [eques coh(ortis) II Bra]caug[us]tarom (*sic*) — ἱππεὺς χώρτης δευτέρως Βρακατῶν (*sic*) (AE 1965, 347), and στρ(ατιώτη) χώρ(της) α' Βρακάρου (AE 1969/70, 572). These different Greek variants show that the rendition of the Latin 'Bracarum' posed problems.

To return to the *cohors III Bracarum* commanded by Tib. Iulius Vestinianus Asklepiades and the anonymous officer from Sagalassos: in all likelihood we have to do with the *cohors III Bracarum* that was stationed in Iudaea / Syria Palaestina in the first half of the second century (see no. 9, praef. coh. III Bracarum in Syr(ia) Pal[ae]s(tina)). For equestrian officers from the East seldom saw service outside the eastern region of the Empire¹⁸. The anonymous officer from Sagalassos did his *tres militiae* in Iudaea / Syria. The equestrian officers from Egypt mostly served in Egypt itself or in a neighbouring Eastern province¹⁹. Thus Tib. Iulius Vestinianus Asklepiades twice held the *militia prima* as *praefectus cohortis*, probably around 120. He first commanded the *cohors III Bracarum*, perhaps in Iudaea / Syria Palaestina; where he held his second command, of a *cohors I Thracum*, is not easy to define, as there were at least five different *cohortes I Thracum* in the Roman army²⁰. In view of the context already sketched the obvious choice here is the *cohors I Thracum (Augusta equitata)*, which was first stationed in Syria Palaestina, thereafter in Egypt²¹.

*

* *

¹⁸ H. DEVIJVER, *Mavors* VI, p. 374-376.

¹⁹ H. DEVIJVER, *Mavors* VI, p. 178, 360-361; *Mavors* IX, p. 94-95.

²⁰ RE IV (1901), col. 335-338, s.v. *cohors I Thracum*; P.A. HOLDER, *art. cit.* (n. 14), p. 227-228.

²¹ M.M. ROXAN, *Roman Military Diplomas*, London 1978, no. 3; M.P. SPEIDEL, *The Roman Army in Arabia*, in ANRW II 8 (1977), p. 710-711; S. DARIS, *Le truppe ausiliare*

In conclusion I would to situate the career of Tib. Iulius Vestinianus Asklepiades in a broader context. He belonged to the group of Hellenized and Romanized elite from Egypt that rose to equestrian rank and served as equestrian officer in the legions and *auxilia* of the Roman imperial army.

In several papers I have already devoted attention to the equestrian officers from the East or who held their *militia(e)* in an eastern province²². In these studies Egypt is only incidentally involved, but the province enjoys special attention in other contributions²³. I think it is useful to present, in the present context, a synthetic overview of the equestrian officers from Egypt, so that we can better interpret the career of Tib. Iulius Vestinianus Asklepiades. Papyrologists have been particularly interested in the administrative and religious offices these men held in Egypt²⁴; a closer look at their career as army officers may usefully complement their view.

The most valid basis for such a study is still the prosopographical approach, despite all the limits and restrictions with which this method is to be applied²⁵. I present here a prosopographical list with only the essential information. The interested reader is referred to the sources, the bibliography and the *PME*²⁶ for further details.

PROSOPOGRAPHIA

1. Allius Hermolaus (*PME* I, IV, A107)
 - χειλίαρχος λεγιῶνος β' Τραιανῆς Ἰσχυρᾶς (trib. leg. II Traianae fortis; Aegyptus).
 - a. 189-190.
 - Origo: Aegyptus.
2. M. Aurelius Corellius Alexander (*PME* I, IV, V, A221)
 - ἵππικοῦ ἀπὸ στρατιῶν (eques, sc. Romanus, a militiis).
 - ca. a. 260.
 - εὐθηνιαρχήσαντος γυμνασιάρχου βουλευτοῦ νεωκόρου τοῦ ἐνταῦθα μεγάλου Σαράπιδος ἐνάρχου πρυτάνεως τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.
 - Origo: Hermopolis, Aegyptus.

romane in Egitto, in *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988), p. 764; M.P. SPEIDEL, *Nubia's Roman Garrison*, in *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988), p. 788-789.

²² H. DEVIJVER, *Mavors* VI, p. 273-389; *Mavors* IX, p. 66-100.

²³ H. DEVIJVER, *Mavors* VI, p. 141-181; *Mavors* IX, p. 22-39.

²⁴ See e.g. A. CALABI, *art. cit.* (n. 10); J. SIPESTEIN, *op. cit.* (n. 10).

²⁵ H. DEVIJVER, *Mavors* IX, p. 316-338.

²⁶ H. DEVIJVER, *PME*; H. DEVIJVER, *De Aegypto et Exercitu Romano sive Prosopographia Militarium Equestrium quae ab Augusto ad Gallienum seu statione seu origine ad Aegyptum pertinebant* (*Studia Hellenistica*, 22), Lovanii 1975.

3. (—) Aelianus, filius Euphranoris (*PME* I, IV, V, A267)
 - Αἰλιανὸς Εὐφράνορος γενομένου ἐξηγητοῦ υἱὸς, νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος (Aelianus, filius Euphranoris exegetae, neocorus).
 - γενόμενος ἑπ[α]ρχος σπείρης δευτ(έρας) Κομμαγενῶν ἱππικῆς (praefectus coh. II Commagenorum equitatae; Micia, Dacia).
 - ca. a. 130.
 - ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀρχιδικαστὴς καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων (archidicastes; a. 136).
 - Origo: Alexandria ad Aegyptum.
4. (—) Balbinianus, filius Balbiniani (*PME* I, IV, V, B36)
 - Βαλβεινιανῶ, Βαλβεινιανοῦ γενομένου ἐπιτρόπου Σεβαστοῦ υἱῶ, νεωκόρῳ τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος (Balbinianus, Balbiniani procuratoris Augusti filius, neocorus).
 - γενομένῳ ἐπάρχῳ σπείρης πρώτης Φλαυίας ἱππικῆς (praefectus coh. I Flaviae, sc. Cilicum, equitatae; Syene, Aegyptus).
 - III s. (?)
 - τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσεῖῳ σειτουμένων ἀτελῶν, ἱερεῖ, ἀρχιδικαστῇ καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων (archidikastes; a. 128).
 - Origo: Alexandria ad Aegyptum.
5. Tib. Claudius Tib. Claudii Neronis filius Quirina Apollinaris (*PME* I, IV, V, C119)
 - Τιβέριος Κλαυδῖος Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Νέρωνος υἱὸς Κουίρινα Ἀπολλινάριο[ς], τῶν κεχειλιαρχηκότων (a militiis).
 - ca. a. 109.
 - [προστάτ]ης Τρίφιδος καὶ Πανὸς θεῶν μεγίστων.
 - Origo: Aegyptus.
6. Claudius Philoxenus (*PME* I, IV, V, C167)
 - Κλαυδῖος Φιλοξένος νεοκόρος [τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος (neocorus).
 - γενόμενος ἑπαρχος σπείρης πρώτης [Δαμασ]κηνῶν (praefectus coh. I Damascenorum; Syria Palaestina).
 - ca. a. 130.
 - τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσεῖῳ σιτουμένων ἀτελῶν, [ιερεὺς] καὶ ἀρχιδικαστῆς (a. 135; archidikastes).
 - Origo: Aegyptus.
7. M. Claudius Serenus (*PME* I, IV, V, C183)
 - νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος (neocorus).
 - τῶν κεχειλιαρχηκότων γενόμενος ἑπαρχος σπείρης πρώτης Δαμασ[κ]ηνῶν (a militiis et praefectus coh. I Damascenorum; Syria Palaestina).

- ca. a. 130.
- και ἀρχιγεωργός, ἱερεὺς, ἐξηγητής (a. 132/33); cf. Ti. Claudius Serenus (*P. Mil. Vogl.* IV 229: ἱερεὺς ἀρχιδικαστής, ca. a. 139-140, idem vel eiusdem stirpis?).
- Origo: Aegyptus.
- 8. Cl(audius) Theon (*PME* I, IV, C188)
 - τριβουν[ος] (tribunus militum?).
 - a. 268.
 - Origo: Aegyptus (?).
- 9. (– –) Celer Sotionis filius (*PME* IV, C272bis)
 - [γενόμενος ἑπαρχος σπείρης πρώτης] Φλαουίας ἱπικῆς Κ[ιλίκων] (praefectus coh. I Flaviae Cilicum; Syene, Aegyptus).
 - ca. a. 155-157.
 - *P. Oxy.* X 1270 ll. 12-16: Κέλερ — [γενο]μένου ὑπομνηματογράφου υἱὸς γενόμε]νος στρα(τηγός) τῆς πόλεως ἱε[ρεὺς ἀρχιδικαστής] καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων] (a. 159; fortasse idem).
 - Origo: Alexandria ad Aegyptum (?).
- 10. T. Iulius Alexander (*PME* I, IV, V, I16)
 - γενόμενος ἑπαρχος σπείρης ᾧ Φλαουίας (praefectus coh. I Flaviae, sc. Cilicum; Syene, Aegyptus; vel: coh. I Flavia c.R. equitata in Syria?).
 - a. 158.
 - τῶν ἡγορανομηκότων, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐθηνίας τοῦ β´ γράμματο[ς] (sc. praefectus annonae, cfr *PME* I, I16).
 - Origo: Aegyptus.
- 11. Tib. Iulius Vestinianus Asklepiades, qui et Leonidas (*PME* I, IV, V, I138)
 - Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Ὀυηστεινιανὸς Ἀσκληπειάδος, ὁ καὶ Λεονίδης, Λεωνίδου ἐξηγητεύσαντος υἱὸς (filius Leonidou, exegetae).
 - γενόμενος ἑπαρχος σπείρης τρίτης Βρακῶν καὶ πρώτης Θρακῶν (praefectus coh. III Bracarum et I Thracum, in Syria Palaestina).
 - ca. a. 125.
 - ὁ εἰερεὺς [καὶ ἀρχιδικας]τῆς [καὶ] πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελ(εῖαι) τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων] (archidikastes; a. 127).
 - Origo: Alexandria ad Aegyptum (?).
- 12. [– – –]apus Munatianus Munatiani filius (*PME* II, IV, M85)
 - [– – –]απος, [Μ]ουνατιανοῦ σπο[– – –] γενο[μ]μένου ἀρχιδι[κας]τοῦ υἱὸς, τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ σειτουμένων ἀτελῶν (Munatianus, pater, archidikastes).
 - κεχ[ε]ιλιαρχικῶς (i.e. a militiis).
 - ca. a. 125.

- γενόμενος στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως, ἱερεὺς, ἀρχιδικαστὴς καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων (archidikastes; a. 128).
- Alexandria ad Aegyptum.
- 13. Servius Sulpic[ius Serenus] (*PME* II, IV, V, S88)
 - ἔπαρχος σπείρης (praefectus cohortis, fortasse in Aegypto), [χιλίαρχος] λεγεῶνος κβ' (tribunus militum legionis XXII, sc. Deiotariana; Coptos, Aegyptus), [ἔπαρχος ἄλης Οὐδο]κουντίω[v] (praefectus alae Vocontiorum; Coptos, Aegyptus; a. 122-123 vixit Agriophagos).
 - ca. a. 118-123.
 - νεοκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος, τῶν ἐν Μουσεῖῳ σειτουμένων ἀτελῶν (neocorus).
 - equitibus alae veteranae Gallicae annonam procuravit, i.e. procurator ad dioecesim Alexandriae (centenarius; a. 130).
 - Origo: Alexandria ad Aegyptum.
- 14. Ulpius Asclepiades (*PME* II, IV, U8)
 - γενόμενος ἔπαρχος σπείρης δευτέρας Ἰ[τυρ]α[τι]ῶν – vel — Ἰ[σπ]α[ν]ῶν (?) (praefectus cohortis II Ituraeorum, Aegyptus — vel — II Hispanorum, Cappadocia).
 - ca. a. 130-133.
 - ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀρχιδικαστὴς (archidikastes; a. 134).
 - Origo: Alexandria ad Aegyptum.
- 15. [– – –] *BGU* I 231 (*PME* II, IV, Inc. 267)
 - [τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσεῖῳ σειτουμένων ἀτελῶν.
 - γενόμενος ἔπαρχος –] (sc. praefectus cohortis).
 - aet. Hadriani.
 - [ἱερεὺς ἀρχιδικαστὴς καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων] (archidikastes; inter a. 117-138).
 - Origo: Alexandria ad Aegyptum.
- 16. [– – –] *PSI* VIII 962 (*PME* II, IV, V, Inc. 275)
 - [– νεοκόρος μεγάλου Σαράπιδος.
 - [γενόμενος ἔπαρχος σ]πείρης τρί[της –] (praefectus cohortis III –; ubi?).
 - ca. a. 125-130.
 - [ἱερεὺς καὶ] ἀρχιδικαστὴς καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων (archidikastes; a. 130).
 - Origo: Aegyptus.
- 17. [– – –] *PSI* IX 1062 (*PME* II, IV, Inc. 276)
 - [– – –] τῶν κεχιλ[ια]ρχηκότων (i.e. a militiis).
 - ca. a. 100-104.
 - στρατηγὸς [Ἀρσινοεῖτου Ἡρακλείδου] μέριδος καὶ [– – –] (a. 104/5 (?), fortasse idem L. Luccius Cerialis? *PME* IV, Inc. 276).
 - Origo: Aegyptus (?).

A look at the chronological distribution of the data gives the following picture:

- under Trajan: nos. 5, 17
- under Hadrian: nos. 3, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16
- under Antoninus Pius: nos. 9, 10
- under Commodus: no. 1
- under Gallienus: nos. 2, 8
- 3rd century: no. 4.

It cannot be a coincidence that nine of the 17 equestrian officers are to be situated under Hadrian. This concentration of the Hellenized and Romanized elite of Egypt, and especially of Alexandria ad Aegyptum, is found precisely under the philhellenic Hadrian, who himself visited Egypt in the year 130²⁷. Compared with other Eastern provinces like Asia, Galatia or Syria, which already provided equestrian officers since the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the evolution went much slower in Egypt²⁸. There are several reasons for this course of affairs. First of all, there is Egypt's special situation as a crown colony, managed by a knight, the *praefectus Aegypti*. The *praefectura Aegypti* was one of the highest offices in the equestrian career, and the prefect of Egypt was the only knight to hold the *imperium*, he was the equal of a *consularis*, governor of a major province²⁹. According to Cassius Dio³⁰ Augustus refused the Egyptians access to the Roman senate. Whether Augustus really issued a formal law against an Egyptian presence in the *curia* in Rome is far from certain³¹. An anti-Egyptian sentiment may well have been prevalent at the beginning of the Principate. In any event, only in 212 would Caracalla admit the first Egyptian, Aelius Coeranus, to the senate³². Aelius Coeranus belonged to the cosmopolitan elite of Alexandria. It is not sure that Egyptians could only attain the *civitas Romana* via the citizenship of Alexandria ad Aegyptum. It was not Alexandrian citizenship *per se* but the level of civilization –Hellenization by citizenship in a Greek city in Egypt that qualified *peregrini* for the Roman fran-

²⁷ H. HALFMANN, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich* (Habes, 2), Stuttgart 1986, p. 207-208; H.-G. PFLAUM, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 245-247 no. 105.

²⁸ H. DEVIJVER, *Mavors* VI, p. 364.

²⁹ H. DEVIJVER, *Mavors* IX, p. 22-39.

³⁰ Cassius Dio LI 17.

³¹ J. REYNOLDS, *Senators Originating in the Provinces of Egypt and of Crete and Cyrene, Tituli* 5 (1982), p. 671-683.

³² Cassius Dio LXXVII 5.

chise³³. Furthermore, Egypt lacked the infrastructure of *coloniae* and *municipia*, the normal breeding ground of the *ordo equester* and, in a following generation, of the *ordo senatorius*. In addition it was extremely difficult to acquire the fortune required of knights or senators in Egypt, which was a country of large imperial estates and, at times, of large estates given to imperial favourites, who lacked normal opportunities to gain administrative experience in civic affairs before Septimius Severus, or, perhaps more significantly, to attract official notice by display in the civic field³⁴. The citizens of the few Greek cities in Egypt, and to a certain extent also the Greeks and Jews of Alexandria ad Aegyptum, were therefore not in a favourable position to advance to the cadres of the Roman Empire. Yet the Hellenized Jews and Greeks of Alexandria could attain the Roman citizenship and the *ordo equester*. Tib. Iulius Alexander, a Hellenized Alexandrian Jew, was *praefectus Aegypti* at the end of Nero's reign³⁵.

The *Orientales* had to be Hellenized before they could be Romanized. The candidates for the *ordo equester* and the *militiae equestres* had to possess the minimum census. This was a prerequisite for the enjoyment of *paideia* and for the practice of *munificentia* — *euergesia*. *Eugeneia*, *paideia*, *euergesia* formed the essence of the ethos of Rome's leading classes.

The administrative, judicial, religious and cultural duties that these equestrian officers performed as members of the Alexandrian elite provide abundant proof of the *paideia* and *euergesia*:

- *archidikastes* with judicial authority over the *chora* and with residence in Alexandria, director of the archive (καταλογεῖον); he validated contracts; full title³⁶: ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀρχιδικαστῆς καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων: nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16.
- Alexandria was also the centre of the cult of the “Great Sarapis”; this cult enjoyed a revival under Trajan and Hadrian³⁷; νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος: nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 13, 16.

³³ Plin., *Ep.* X 6.1; Diana DELIA, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate*, in *American Classical Studies* 23, Atlanta 1991, p. 39-47, esp. p. 46.

³⁴ J. REYNOLDS, *art. cit.* (n. 31), p. 672.

³⁵ A. BARZANO, *Tiberio Giulio Alessandro, Prefetto d'Egitto (66/70)*, in *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988), p. 518-580.

³⁶ O. MONTEVECCHI, *L'amministrazione dell'Egitto sotto i Giulio-Claudi*, in *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988), p. 412-471, esp. 435-436.

³⁷ E.G. HUZAR, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum in the Julio-Claudian Age*, in *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988), p. 619-668, esp. 639-640.

- membership of the *Museum*; presumably the *archidikastes* was admitted to the Museum after his term of office; the Romans designated its scholars³⁸: “those receiving sustenance in the Mouseion and not subject to taxes”: τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ σειτουμένων ἀτελῶν: nos. 4, 6, 12, 13, 15.
- the offices of *exegetes*, *hypomnematographos*, *strategos* belonged, together with that of *archidikastes*, to the ἐπιχώροι ἄρχοντες κατὰ πόλιν (Strabo XVII 1.12 – 797)³⁹: nos. 7, 9, 12, 17.

Eugeneia, descent, and the intercession of an influential *patronus* co-determined social promotion under the Roman Empire. So it is not surprising to find that no less than six officers refer to their father:

- no. 3: Euphranor, father, was *exegetes*;
- no. 4: Balbinianus, father, was *procurator Augusti*;
- no. 5: Tib. Claudius Nero, father, was a Roman citizen;
- no. 9: [– – –], father, was *hypomnematographos*;
- no. 11: Leonidas, father, was *exegetes*;
- no. 12: Munatianus, father, was *archidikastes*.

For ten of the 17 officers the *nomen gentilicium* has survived, and of these eight bear an imperial *gentilicium*: Aurelius (2), Claudius (5, 6, 7, 8), Iulius (10, 11), and Ulpus (14). This may indicate that their citizenship can be traced back indirectly to a certain Roman emperor or to a *patronus* who was the bearer of an imperial *nomen gentilicium*. It is noteworthy, however, that despite the scantiness of the evidence we can still recognize three instances in which a *praefectus Aegypti* was the promotor of the social advancement of the local elite:

- T. Iulius Alexander (10): a descendant of the well-known homonymous *praefectus Aegypti* Ti. Iulius Alexander (a. 66-69)⁴⁰ or member of a family that had obtained the *civitas Romana* through this prefect?
- Tib. Iulius Vestinianus Asklepiades, qui et Leonidas (11): the relationship between the *ab epistulis Hadriani* L. Iulius Vestinus and the *praefectus Aegypti* L. Iulius Vestinus (a. 60-62)⁴¹ has been dealt with above.
- Servius Sulpic[ius Serenus] (13): the prefect of Egypt Ser. Sulpicius Similis⁴² (a. 107-112) promoted this family to Roman citizenship and equestrian status.

³⁸ E.G. HUZAR, *art. cit.*, p. 644.

³⁹ O. MONTEVECCHI, *art. cit.* (n. 36), p. 435.

⁴⁰ A. BARZANO, *art. cit.* (n. 35); G. BASTIANINI, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 506.

⁴¹ G. BASTIANINI, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 505.

⁴² G. BASTIANINI, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 507.

It is evident that this legally trained and cultivated Alexandrian elite did not supply true *virī militares*. Still, let us take a look at their careers as equestrian officers. A first finding is that most of them held only one of the *militiae equestres*: *militia prima*: *praefectus cohortis*: nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11 (*iteratio*), 14, 15, 16; *militia secunda*: nos. 1, 8; *a militiis*: nos. 2, 5, 12, 17 (these probably also held just a single *militia*, see no. 7: *a militiis, praefectus cohortis*)⁴³. With their tenure of just one *militia* this Alexandrian elite wanted no so much to satisfy a military aspiration; they saw in that officer's appointment the confirmation and crowning of their admission to the *ordo equester*. Only Servius Sulpic[ius Serenus] (13) held the classic *tres militiae* and even was *procurator ad dioecesisin Alexandriae*. It is striking, however, that he probably never set foot outside Egypt during the whole of his career, a phenomenon already mentioned at the beginning of this paper, viz. that *Orientalēs* usually served in their native province or in an adjacent Eastern region. For the officers whose duty station can be traced this gives the following picture:

- Egypt: nos. 1, 4, 9, 10, 14;
- Syria Palaestina: nos. 6, 7, 11.

Only Aelinaus (3) served in Dacia, but there he commanded the *cohors II Commagenorum equitata*, a unit from Syria Commagene, therefore manned by *Orientalēs*. Did linguistic, climatological, psychological factors determine this geographical pattern?

From this limited prosopography of the equestrian officers from Egypt no precise evolution can be drawn. But I do think some salient points have been established that once again point up Egypt's special position within the Roman Empire.

B-3010 Kessel-Lo
Eikenboslaan 20

Hubert DEVIJVER

⁴³ H. DEVIJVER, *Mavors* IX, p. 152-153.

POLITICS AND BELIEF IN TIMAEUS OF TAUROMENIUM*

In a well-known passage of his XIIth book the historian Polybius makes the following comment on the work of his predecessor, Timaeus of Tauromenium: «his historical narrative is full of dreams (ἐνύπνια), portents (τέρατα) and fantastic tales (μῦθοι ἀπίθανοι), in one word, full of debased superstition and womanish love of the marvellous (δεισιδαιμονίας ἀγεννοῦς καὶ τερατείας γυναικώδους). Timaeus», he continues, «happens to be in the same position as men, who owing to their ignorance and bad judgement, are at times as it were absent when present and blind with their eyes open»¹.

Born about 350 B.C. as son of Andromachus, the founding-father and local dynast of Tauromenium in Sicily, Timaeus was expelled from his country, no doubt for political reasons, when Agathocles rose to power. He found a new home at Athens, where he stayed for fifty years and worked on his history of Sicily. The Σικελικά embraced the entire history of the Western Greeks, from the mythological period onward to his own time. The last five books dealt with Agathocles, the tyrant and self-made 'king' of Syracuse. A separate war-monograph, entitled *The Wars of Pyrrhus*, treating the most important events in Sicily after the death of Agathocles (289 B.C.), constituted a kind of supplement to his continuous historical narrative, which thus went down to 264 B.C.² Timaeus, who is said to have lived to the age of 96, witnessed great political and cultural changes: born at the end of the classical period, he survived the outbreak of the first Punic War. Today only fragments remain of his impressive history in 38 books³. This is unfortunate, for

* This paper was initially read at an international conference on *Theology, Scientific Knowledge and Society in Antiquity*, held at the Center of Theological Inquiry, Princeton, New Jersey (November 15-18, 1993), and at the Department of the Classics, Harvard University, on November 23, 1993.

¹ Polyb. XII 24.6 (= *FGrHist* 566 T19). Translation by W.R. Paton (*Loeb*).

² Polybius began his introductory books where Timaeus left off: Polyb. I 5.1; XXXIX 8.4; cf. III 32.2.

³ Edition and commentary by F. JACOBY, *FGrHist* 566. The basic modern studies are: R. LAQUEUR, art. *Timaios*, in *RE* VIA (1936), col. 1076-1203; T.S. BROWN, *Timaeus of Tauromenium*, Berkeley 1958 [hereinafter *Timaeus*]; K. MEISTER, *Historische Kritik bei Polybios (Palingenesia)*, 9), Wiesbaden 1975, p. 3-55; L. PEARSON, *The Greek Historians of the West. Timaeus and his Predecessors*, Atlanta 1987 [hereinafter *Timaeus*]; R. VATTUONE, *Sapienza d'Occidente. Il pensiero storico di*

soon after their publication the Σικελικά seem to have been widely recognised by Roman and Hellenistic readers alike as an authoritative version of the history of the Greek West. Aulus Gellius, following Varro, cited the work as *Historiae de rebus populi Romani*⁴ and Cicero qualified its writer as *longe eruditissimus*. Scholars and poets of Alexandria, such as Apollonius, Lycophron, Callimachus and Eratosthenes, turned to Timaeus for whatever information they sought about the mythical history and geography of Sicily and Italy⁵. Timaeus was, last but not least, Diodorus' basic source for the Sicilian sections of his Βιβλιοθήκη ιστορική. And Plutarch, although he personally disliked Timaeus, was heavily indebted to him for his Lives of *Dion* and *Timo-leon*, and to some extent also for his *Nicias*. In the introduction to *Nicias* Plutarch censures Timaeus for his misguided ambition to improve upon the excellent narratives of his predecessors Thucydides and Philistus⁶. In practice, says Plutarch, he shows himself to be the very embodiment of the immature, yet pedantic writer: «Dull-witted, stuffed with Sicilian lard for brains, as Diphilus puts it». Then comes a passage that is often referred to as an example of what Polybius might have meant when he accused Timaeus of craven superstition; it may, therefore, be cited here *in extenso*.

«He often sinks to the level of Xenarchus, as for example when he gives his opinion that it was a bad omen for the Athenians that Nicias, whose name was derived from victory, began by refusing command of the expedition; or that the mutilation of the *Hermae* was a divine warning that the Athenians would suffer their greatest reverses during the war at the hands of Hermocrates the son of Hermon; or again that it was fitting that Heracles should take the side of the Syracusans for the sake of their goddess Kore who had delivered up Cerberus to him,

Timeo di Tauromenio (*Studi di Storia*, 4), Bologna 1991 [hereinafter *Sapienza d'Occidente*].

⁴ Probably with reference to the work on Pyrrhus' wars: *FGrHist* 566 T9c = Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* XI 1.1. Cf. A. MOMIGLIANO, *Athens in the Third Century B.C. and the Discovery of Rome in the Histories of Timaeus of Tauromenium*, in *id.*, *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography*, Oxford 1977, p. 37-67, esp. 57 (English translation of *Atene nel III sec. a.C. e la scoperta di Roma nelle Storie di Timeo di Tauromenio*, *RSI* 71, 1959, p. 529-556, esp. 550).

⁵ Cf. L. PEARSON, *Timaeus*, p. 54, 62, 96-98.

⁶ *FGrHist* 566 T18: «I must appeal to the reader», says Plutarch, «not to think me as vain as Timaeus, who flattered himself that he could outdo Thucydides in skill (δεινότητι) and show up Philistus as a thoroughly uninspired and amateurish writer ... In practice Timaeus does not even come as near their level as *one of the infantry, footslogging beside a Lydian chariot*, to quote Pindar's phrase...»

and should be angry with the Athenians because they were helping the Segestans, a people descended from the Trojans, whose city he had destroyed in revenge for the wrongs done to him by Laomedon»⁷.

There is, however, something startling about this criticism⁸. We know Plutarch's interest in the problem of δεισιδαιμονία⁹; and yet, nowhere in his writings does he make any remark to that extent at Timaeus' address, not even on this seemingly appropriate occasion. The whole thrust of his argument is literary and stylistic, as he makes clear in the ensuing comment:

«My own view is that this kind of captious rivalry with other authors in matters of diction (ἡ περὶ λέξιν ἔμιλλα) is the mark of a petty and donnish mind (μικροπρεπὲς φαίνεται καὶ σοφιστικόν)»¹⁰.

As it is, Plutarch's judgement does not so much echo Polybius' criticism as it does rejoin the tenor of the observations made by the author Περὶ ὕψους¹¹. There, Timaeus' far-fetched pun on the names of Hermes and Hermocrates the son of Hermon is adduced as an example of τὸ ψυχρόν, a defect which consists in «pedantically elaborating a thought until it tails off into frigidity»:

«Writers», the author explains, «slip into this kind of fault when they strive for unusual and well-wrought effects, and above all for attractiveness, and instead flounder into tawdriness and affectation»¹².

⁷ *FGrHist* 566 F102b; translation by I. Scott-Kilvert (*Penguin Classics*). On omens from names, see W.K. PRICHETT, *The Greek State at War*. Part III: *Religion*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1979, p. 135 (with literature).

⁸ Which is in other respects so typical of Plutarch, who, in citing Pindar (B. SNELL – H. MAEHLER II, fr. 206), Diphilus (*PCG* V fr. 118) and Xenarchus (a 5th–4th century B.C. author of *mimes*; cf. Aristot., *Poet.* 1447b), makes a show of his own literary erudition.

⁹ The text of his tract *De Superstitione* (*Mor.* 164e–171f) was edited, with introduction, translation and commentary by G. LOZZA (Milano 1980). Plutarch's ideas on superstition have been studied by H.A. MOELLERING, *Plutarch on Superstition*, Boston 1963; F.E. BRENN, *In Mist Apparelled. Religious Themes in Plutarch's Moralia and Lives*, Leiden 1977, *passim*; H.W. ATTRIDGE, *Philosophical Critique of Religion*, in *ANRW* II 16.1, Berlin–New York 1978, esp. p. 73–77 (“Plutarch and the Mean of Piety”); F.E. BRENN, *An Imperial Heritage: the Religious Spirit of Plutarch of Chaironeia*, in *ANRW* II 36.1, Berlin–New York 1987, p. 248–349; M. CEREZO MAGAN, *La superstición según Plutarco de Queronea, ¿Otra forma de religión?*, in M. GARCIA VALDES (ed.), *Estudios sobre Plutarco: Ideas religiosas. Actas del III Simposio internacional sobre Plutarco*, Madrid 1994, p. 157–168.

¹⁰ T18; F102. Not commented by F. Jacoby.

¹¹ *FGrHist* 566 F102a.

¹² [Longinus], *De sublimitate*, c. 3; translation by T.S. Dorsch (*Penguin Classics*). The author cites, as a further illustration of the defect of τὸ ψυχρόν, Timaeus' odd comparison of Alexander the Great with the rhetorician Isocrates: he says of the former that

Although these stylistic remarks do not necessarily clash with Polybius' point of view, they at once make us aware of the complexity of the issues involved in his charge and of the possibility of interpreting at least some of the passages which caused his resentment in terms other than superstition.

As far as Polybius is concerned, a preliminary assessment should be made of his testimony before we take it as our starting-point for some observations on Timaeus' religious attitude and on the question if and how his belief affected his understanding of politics. The notion 'politics', as used in the title of this paper, is shorthand for all human and therefore rationally explicable actions in history¹³. Applied to Timaeus' Σικελικά, this means that we will examine that author's treatment of the political and military events, which together make up the πραγματικὸν μέρος¹⁴ of his work: this is the part following upon the colonisation period, which, roughly speaking, came to a close at the beginning of the 6th century B.C.

Polybius' XIIth book was devoted entirely to a critique of Timaeus. I have observed elsewhere¹⁵ that Polybius' decision to write an entire book with the aim of destroying the reputation of his immediate predecessor was a novelty in the Greek historiographical tradition. Whereas Polybius finds fault with many historians in the course of his work, Timaeus was, apparently, his special *bête noire*. The fact that the Σικελικά had earned a great success¹⁶ and that Polybius wanted the title of Greek historian of the West for himself can certainly bring us a long way towards explaining this author's sense of purpose and bitterness in attacking Timaeus. The passage cited at the beginning of this paper is

he «gained possession of the whole of Asia in fewer years than the latter took to write his *Panegyric* advocating war against the Persians». On ψυχρόν, see further H. LAUSBERG, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, Stuttgart 1990³, §1076.

¹³ Compare, *mutatis mutandis*, B. SHIMRON, *Politics and Belief in Herodotus*, Stuttgart 1989, p. 26.

¹⁴ Cf. Polyb. XII 27a.1. 'Pragmatic' history deals, according to a well-known definition of Polybius (IX 1.4), with the *praxeis* of peoples, cities, and monarchs.

¹⁵ *Polemic and Methodology in Polybius' Book XII*, in H. VERDIN – G. SCHEPENS (ed.), *Purposes of History. Studies in Greek Historiography from the 4th to the 2nd Centuries B.C.* Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven, 24-26 May 1988 (*Studia Hellenistica*, 30), Leuven 1990, p. 39-61.

¹⁶ Polybius acknowledges that «for some unknown reason» Timaeus «has acquired the reputation of being a leading author» (XII 28.7). He addresses Timaeus' supporters with the aim of making them change their minds (XII 25a.3); as this seemed impossible, Polybius proceeds to criticise the admirers of Timaeus on equal terms with his work (XII 26d).

part of the section of book XII devoted to the discussion of Timaeus' αἴρεσις, his character or disposition¹⁷. Polybius completes his portrayal of Timaeus as a superstitious man with a triplet of nice qualifications such as φιλαπεχθής (quarrelsome), ψεύστης (mendacious) and τολμηρός (foolhardy), and rounds off with the reproach that Timaeus was not philosophically trained (ἀφιλόσοφος), in short, a man of no education (ἀνάγωγος)¹⁸.

To put this criticism in proper perspective, it is enough to briefly recall here that Timaeus was equally attacked by Polybius for aspects of his method which nonetheless show him as a quite principled and serious researcher, committed to the truth, and for which, even by our modern standards, he should have deserved some credit¹⁹. Not only did Polybius ridicule Timaeus for priding himself on the pains he took to collect books on the customs of Ligurians, Celts, and Iberians²⁰; he even sneered that Timaeus chose Athens as his place of residence because it provided a good library where he could work effortlessly²¹. If Polybius found fault with these and other innovative²² aspects of Timaeus' work,

¹⁷ Polybius (XII 24.1-5) applies to Timaeus one of this historian's favourite theories, namely that poets and historians reveal their disposition by dwelling excessively on certain matters in their works: so, according to Timaeus, by 'carving meat' in many episodes of his poems Homer showed himself to be a glutton; and Aristotle, who is frequently giving recipes for cookery, must have been a greedy gourmet... In accordance with this same principle, says Polybius, we are bound to draw a picture of Timaeus himself as a superstitious man.

¹⁸ *FGrHist* 566 T19 (Polyb. XII 25.6).

¹⁹ On the seriousness of Timaeus' commitment to historical truth (*FGrHist* 566 F7, 151), see now also R. VATTUONE, *Sapienza d'Occidente*, esp. chapter I: "La verità della storia" (p. 19-62).

²⁰ Polyb. XII 28a.3.

²¹ Polyb. XII 25d-e, 27.4-5.

²² On the innovative aspects (among other things meticulous research in archives; new chronological methods, etc.) of the 'armchair' historian's method, see F. JACOBY, *FGrHist* IIIb (Text), Leiden 1955, p. 533-534 (Athens' library as Timaeus' trump-card); A. MOMIGLIANO, *Athens* (n. 4), p. 37-66; Ch.W. FÖRNER, *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1983, p. 48, calls Timaeus an «indefatigable and enterprising» historical researcher. Timaeus' chronological method has recently been excellently analysed by D. ASHERI, *The Art of Synchronization in Greek Historiography: The Case of Timaeus of Tauromenium*, *SCI* 11 (1991-92), p. 52-89; on the importance of the 'Records' of the Tyrians (τὰ παρὰ Τυρίων ὑπομνήματα: Polyb. XII 28a.3) for his *historical* study of the synchronism of the foundations of Rome and Carthage (in 814/13 B.C.), see *ibid.*, p. 62-67. For a summary of the scholarship and a decidedly positive appreciation of Timaeus' merits and important place in the evolution of Greek historiography, see K. MEISTER, *The Role of Timaeus in Greek Historiography*, *SCI* 10 (1989-90), p. 55-65.

why should he have refrained from objecting to this historian's belief in the supernatural, an issue of historical method which was, then as now, more than any other open to controversy? Theophrastus' typifying of the *δεισιδαίμων*²³ and the philosophical critique of the gods²⁴ had prepared the field for Polybius' contemptuous remarks. It would be interesting, although of no direct relevance to the further exploration of our theme, to put Polybius' own, rather incoherent religious ideas to the test. He lets *Tyche* (among other things in a sense that comes very close to the Stoic concept of 'Providence') play a prominent role in his work²⁵, but occasionally proves capable of taking the sceptical, intellectualist view which downgrades religion to pious fiction, justifiable only from the politician's point of view, to discipline the populace²⁶. Polybius, thus, seems to have adopted different attitudes in different circumstances.

Polybius' rationalism²⁷ combined with his hostile feelings towards Timaeus should make us beware of giving too much credit to his characterisation of the latter's religious attitude. For Polybius, whose object it was to discredit his rival by whatever means available, it was immaterial to take a closer look at the proper historiographical function of the manifestations of the divine in Timaeus' narrative²⁸. This is not to say that he

²³ *Charact.* 16. See M. STEIN, *Definition und Schilderung in Theophrasts Charakteren*, Stuttgart 1992, p. 199-201; P. STEINMETZ, ed. comm. Theophrast, *Charaktere*, I, München 1960, p. 179-207.

²⁴ Cf. A. HENRICHs, *The Sophists and Hellenistic Religion: Prodicus as the Spiritual Father of the Isis Aretologies*, *HSPH* 88 (1984), p. 139-158; H.W. ATTRIDGE, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 45-78.

²⁵ Cf. F.W. WALBANK, *Polybius*, Berkeley 1972, p. 59-67. See also A.J.L. VAN HOOFF, *Polybius' Reason and Religion. The Relations between Polybius' Causal Thinking and his Attitude towards Religion in the Studies of History*, *Klio* 59 (1977), p. 101-128; F.W. WALBANK, *Supernatural Paraphernalia in Polybius' Histories*, in I. WORTHINGTON (ed.), *Ventures into Greek History*, Oxford 1994, p. 28-42.

²⁶ See Polyb. VI 56.6-12 (on Roman religion); F.W. WALBANK, *Hist. Comm.*, ad loc.; H. DOERRI, *Polybios über pietas, religio und fides* (zu Buch 6, Kap. 56). *Griechische Theorie und römisches Selbstverständnis*, in *Mélanges de philosophie, de littérature et d'histoire ancienne offerts à M. Boyancé*, Roma 1974, p. 251-272; S. MOHM, *Untersuchungen zu den historiographischen Anschauungen des Polybios*, diss. Saarbrücken 1977, p. 115-116; K. DOERING, *Antike Theorien über die staatspolitische Notwendigkeit der Götterfurcht*, *A&A* 24 (1978), p. 43-56; C. BERGEMAN, *Politik und Religion im spätrepublikanischen Rom*, Stuttgart 1992, p. 143-150.

²⁷ Cf. P. PÉDECH, *Polybe. Histoires. Livre XII*, Paris 1961 [hereinafter *Polybe XII*], p. 119-120: «Polybe, intellectualiste, considère comme inférieures les facultés sensibles et les manifestations passionnelles. Il méprise ce qui est féminin (cf. II 4.8, 8.12; X 4.7; XXX 18.5; XXXII 15.7)».

²⁸ Through careless reading, or for whatever reason, Polybius often misses the point of the matters he is criticising: see K. MEISTER, *Historische Kritik* (n. 3), *passim*, Cf. P.A.

was wrong in stating that Timaeus' work was replete with dreams and portents. For that matter, what we know from sections in later authors, e.g. Diodorus and Plutarch²⁹, which can safely be traced back to Timaeus, seems to corroborate the view that he had an outspoken interest in the religious and the marvellous. But in evaluating Polybius' testimony, it will be good to draw a distinction between what he observed in Timaeus' *Histories* and his derogatory assessment of the author, implied in his use of the term *δεισιδαιμονία* in *malam partem*, indicating an irrational fear of the gods, which in his view made Timaeus 'blind' to the real world and totally unfit for scientific research³⁰.

The problems which Polybius' accusation raises have never been thoroughly investigated. P. Pédech and F.W. Walbank, in their commentaries, duly point to some evidence from the fragments, illustrating the dreams, portents and fantastic tales with which Polybius takes issue³¹, but they remain silent on the crucial question of how to evaluate his criticism³².

BRUNT, *On Historical Fragments and Epitomes*, CQ 30 (1980), p. 477-494, esp. 480: «Rather too much respect is given to Polybius' denigration of his predecessors, who should certainly not be condemned in absence of sufficient evidence by which we can control his judgement».

²⁹ The emphasis on τὸ θεῖον left its mark on Plutarch's Lives of Nicias, Dion and Timoleon, in which he draws heavily on Timaeus: cf. L. PEARSON, *Timaeus*, p. 256, 270.

³⁰ The debilitating effect on the personality is, at least from the Hellenistic period onwards (Menander and Theophrastus), a classic ingredient of the ancient views on superstition: compare the negative tenor of the observations made in both Theophr., *Charact.* 16 and Plutarch's *De superstitione* (see esp. 165b). Plutarch's abhorrence of superstition (on which see F.E. BRENN, *In Mist Apparelled* [n. 9], esp. p. 9-27) is also crucial to our understanding of his attitude as a biographer: see F. TITCHENER, *Why Did Plutarch Write about Nicias?*, AHB 5 (1991), p. 153-158.

Timaeus, as I already suggested in *Polybius on Timaeus' Account of Phalaris' Bull: a Case of Δεισιδαιμονία* (AncSoc 9, 1978, p. 117-148, esp. 138-139), was still using the terms *δεισιδαιμονία*, *δεισιδαίμων*, *δεισιδαιμονεῖν* predominantly in their original sense of «(to have) fear of / respect for the gods», «godfearing». Timaeus' conspicuous use of this terminology in *bonam partem* is discussed by J.P. KOETS, *Δεισιδαιμονία. A Contribution to the Knowledge of Religious Terminology in Greek*, Utrecht 1929, esp. p. 9-12 and 104-106. The history and evolution of the concept of *δεισιδαιμονία* are further dealt with in S. CALDERONE, *Superstitio*, in ANRW I 2, Berlin-New York 1972, p. 377-396, esp. 378-379; L.F. JANSSEN, *Die Bedeutungsentwicklung von 'superstitio/superstes'*, Mnemosyne 28 (1975), p. 135-188; and W. BELARDI, *Superstitio*, Roma 1976.

³¹ Thus F.W. WALBANK, *Hist. Comm.* II, p. 380: «examples of dreams in Timaeus are those of Gelon (F95), of a woman of Himera (F29); of prodigies, the river which bleached the hair (F43), the cigalas of Rhegium (F43); of fabulous stories, those of the Argonauts and Heracles (F84-90). Cf. P. PÉDECH, *Polybe XII*, p. 119-120.

³² Yet F.W. WALBANK shows himself highly critical — and rightly so — of Polybius' polemical attacks. See esp. *Polemic in Polybius*, JRS 52 (1962), p. 1-12. His recent study *Timaios und die westgriechische Sicht der Vergangenheit* (Xenia, 29),

Nor does F. Jacoby³³ offer any specific comment on the passage in question; however, in his general introduction he expresses the view that Timaeus' religious, political and social ideas should not be acknowledged as simply 'archaic' (the term used by Laqueur), but as quite 'old-fashioned', trivial, bourgeois and to some extent also contradictory, because Timaeus had no philosophy of history³⁴. In spite of the intention Jacoby professes, in this very context, to defend Timaeus against a number of unjustified reproaches, one senses Polybius' verdict still lingering in these words. The most systematic discussion of the δεισιδαιμονία-problem by a modern author stems from K. Meister. In his book *Historische Kritik bei Polybios*³⁵ he confronts Polybius' objections with the evidence of the fragments and with the indirect tradition (mainly in Diodorus); he draws the following conclusion: «All in all, the observation that *deisidaimonia* played a central role in Timaeus' work is plainly justified. Yet, Polybius goes too far when, in view of his own rationalistic attitude, he calls this *deisidaimonia* bluntly ἀγεννής»³⁶. According to Meister, Timaeus used this concept in a positive sense, indicating fear of the gods; at the core of these religious ideas was the sincere belief that *to daimonion* operates in human affairs. Taking this view Meister seems to be

Konstanz 1992, p. 14-15, does not address the problem of Timaeus' religious beliefs. The question whether Timaeus himself believed in the mythical and legendary stories which he used as evidence for his view that the Greek West had been part of Hellas from the very beginning, is answered with a cautious *non liquet*, «weil wir keinen Zugang zu dem besitzen, was er (*scil.* Timaeus) gesagt hat, ...». P. PÉDECH, commenting on Polybius' abusive language (ἀγεννής, γυναικώδης) only notes that the τέρατα as told by Timaeus show, indeed, this historian's «imperturbable naïveté» (*Polybe XII*, p. 119-120).

³³ See *FGrHist* IIIb, Leiden 1955, p. 546 (commentary on T19) and p. 535.

³⁴ «Man kann weitergehen und zugeben daß das religiöse, politische und soziale denken T.s (auf das ich nicht näher eingehe) zwar nicht 'archaisch', wohl aber schlechthin veraltet ist; dass es banal, bourgeoishaft, und selbst ... innerlich widerspruchsvoll ist, weil T. weder eine geschichtsphilosophie noch eine wirkliche weltanschauung hat, und ganz unberührt ist sowohl von der allgemeinen entwicklung wie besonders von dem staatsdenken der philosophie». F.W. WALBANK, *Timaioi* (n. 32), p. 21, rightly considers Jacoby's judgement «widersprüchlich» in view of the fact that he recognises Timaeus as the first Greek historian to have discovered the historical importance of Rome.

³⁵ Wiesbaden 1975, p. 30-33.

³⁶ «Insgesamt gesehen trifft somit die Bemerkung des Polybios, daß die *Deisidaimonia* bei Timaios eine zentrale Rolle [*my italics*, G.S.] spielte, durchaus zu. Freilich geht er zu weit, wenn er auf Grund seiner rationalistischen Einstellung die timäische δεισιδαιμονία rundweg als ἀγεννής abtut (24.5). Denn Timaios war zweifellos von dem aufrichtigen Glauben an das Wirken des δαιμόνιον überzeugt».

following earlier interpreters such as J.B. Bury³⁷ and R. Laqueur³⁸, who argued that Timaeus was principally interested in showing how divine retribution worked in history. This would explain why he was ever on the watch for the revelation of mysterious or daemonic influences in historical events and why he attributed to coincidences of date a transcendent significance. Laqueur adds the interesting note that, with his 'archaic' creed, Timaeus militated against the modern Hellenistic conception of *tyche* as an amoral, blind force³⁹.

This overtly religious interpretation is countered, or at least implicitly questioned by another approach, which stresses Timaeus' literary concerns. In this view Timaeus should be regarded as a representative of so-called 'rhetorical' historiography: in dwelling upon «dreams, portents and fantastic tales» — in which he did not necessarily believe himself — Timaeus wanted above all to make sensational reading; the *τέρατα* and the *mirabilia* of his narrative catered to the taste of a large audience, more interested in entertainment than in instruction. This view has been forwarded since the days of H. Peter's *Wahrheit und Kunst*⁴⁰, and was, quite recently, still advocated by O. Lendle⁴¹. It also left a mark on L. Pearson's interpretation, who on the other hand emphasizes that the Sicilian historian did not lose sight of the element of instruction: in mentioning omens and portents Timaeus at the same time wanted his readers to understand what happened because the people at the time believed they occurred⁴².

As opposed to these two main lines of thought, which do not call into question that religious themes somehow played a prominent role in

³⁷ *Ancient Greek Historians*, p. 169: «He was also something of a mystic. He sought to show, for instance, that to every sinner punishment, unmistakable as such, was meted out, and that coincidences of date had a transcendent significance; he was ever on the watch for the revelation of mysterious or daemonic influences in historical events».

³⁸ Art. *Timaios*, in *RE VIA* (1936), col. 1076-1203, esp. 1191: Timaeus was really «ein gläubiger Mann».

³⁹ On the Hellenistic view of *Tyche*, see G.J.D. AALDERS, *The Hellenistic Concept of the Enviousness of Fate*, in *Studies in Hellenistic Religions*, Leiden 1979, p. 1-8.

⁴⁰ *Wahrheit und Kunst. Geschichtsschreibung und Plagiat im klassischen Altertum*, Leipzig-Berlin 1911, p. 231.

⁴¹ *Einführung in die griechische Geschichtsschreibung. Von Hekataios bis Zosimos*, Darmstadt 1992, p. 216: «Auch wenn wir die polemischen Spitzen [scil. from Polybius' charge of *deisidaimonia*] abziehen, bleibt doch der sicher richtige Eindruck bestehen, daß Timaios sich an dem vorherrschenden Stil der zeitgenössischen Historiographie (welche den Leser weniger sachlich informieren als auf abwechslungsreiche Weise unterhalten wollte) orientiert hat».

⁴² L. PEARSON, *Timaeus*, p. 39, 239 and *passim*.

Timaeus' work⁴³, there is a third approach, which has been advocated by A. Momigliano. In the introduction to his paper *Popular Religious Beliefs and the Late Roman Historians*⁴⁴, he takes issue with Polybius' 'notorious' accusation as follows: «What we know of Timaeus, either directly from the fragments of his work or indirectly from authors who used him as a source, shows that Timaeus attempted no more than an occasional and unsystematic correlation of divine and human affairs in the field of political and military history». Timaeus' acquittal of the charge of being a superstitious historian is directly linked with Momigliano's main thesis according to which ancient pagan historiography «left out of history religious (and moral) emotions, unless they were regarded as having influenced specific military or political events». Momigliano holds the Thucydidean notion of history writing — which, as he emphasizes, prevailed throughout Antiquity — responsible for this seclusive attitude towards religion. Thucydides' limitation of historical research to the exploration of political and military events «was in itself», so Momigliano concludes, «an attitude towards religion». This view has the merit of enlarging the debate on Timaeus' religious position to the question which model of history-writing this historian may have been following within the larger framework of the development of ancient historiography. But, as one can imagine, there is on this higher level no less room for discussion. As it is, the idea that Timaeus was primarily inspired by Thucydides, seems quite problematic⁴⁵. Herodotus would seem a more

⁴³ The conviction that religious themes constitute an important theme in Timaeus' historical narrative underlies the attempts to use terms such as *to daimonion*, *deisidaimonia* or *tyche*, apart or in combination, as a touchstone for so-called 'Timaeian' passages in the works of later authors. Τὸ δαιμόνιον was regarded by G. BUSOLT, *Plutarchs Nikias und Philistos*, *Hermes* 34 (1899), p. 280-297, as «echt timäisch» (p. 296); but see F.E. BRENK, *In Mist Apparelled* (n. 9), p. 174-175. As to δεισιδαιμονία, see e.g. K. MEISTER, *Die sizilische Geschichte bei Diodor von den Anfängen bis zum Tod des Agathokles*, München 1967, p. 7, 22-23. F. REUSS, *Die Bedeutung der Tyche*, Konstanz 1880, p. 8, believed, on the other hand, that τύχη constituted a typical 'Timaeian' theme; but see *supra* p. 257, for R. Laqueur's criticism.

⁴⁴ *Studies in Church History*, Vol. VIII, Cambridge 1971, p. 1-18 = *Quinto Contributo*, Roma 1975, p. 73-92.

⁴⁵ On the relative importance of the Herodotean and the Thucydidean tradition for the development of ancient historiography, see also A. MOMIGLIANO, *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography*, Berkeley 1990, p. 29-53. In my view (cf. G. SCHEPENS, *Oorlog en Beschaving. Beschouwingen bij het antieke geschiedenisbegrip*, *RBPh* 69, 1991, p. 7-32) Momigliano tends to overrate the influence of the Thucydidean conception of history writing at the expense of the Herodotean model: see also O. MURRAY, *Herodotus and Hellenistic Culture*, *CQ* 22 (1972), p. 200-213; E. GABBA, *True and False History in Classical Antiquity*, *JRS* 71 (1981), p. 50-62.

likely candidate. Referring to «the wide view Timaeus took of his history of the West», Momigliano himself, in the posthumously published *Sather Classical Lectures*⁴⁶, suggests that the Sicilian historian was «obviously following the example of Herodotus, with appropriate adaptations». Herodotus, as Momigliano rightly observes, offered a model for combining in one work political history with the geographical and ethnographical description of foreign nations. Now, this is exactly what Timaeus did, centering his work on the history of Sicily, but extending his research to the whole of Italy, Gaul, Spain and Libya, even touching on the Northern countries. As will be argued hereafter, the *Histories* of Herodotus may equally have provided Timaeus with a model for the integration of political and religious explanations in historical narrative, in this case too, with appropriate adaptations.

In conclusion of this survey of modern literature, special mention must be made of R. Vattuone's recent monograph *Sapienza d'Occidente*, in which the importance and the historiographical significance of the religious factor in Timaeus' political judgement is again pointed out. Focusing on Timaeus' interpretation of the political history of Sicily, from Agathocles backwards to Phalaris, Vattuone claims that Timaeus decided to (re)write the history of Sicily out of a deeply felt need not just to come to terms with his personal experiences as a victim of the tyranny of the most «lawless and sacrilegious» of all men, Agathocles, but first and foremost to oppose the traditions circulating in his place of exile, Athens. These traditions associated Agathocles, as a defender of the Greek interests in the West, in a positive manner with other great self-styled Sicilian rulers; and since the tyrant had, after the example of the diadochs, adopted the title βασιλεύς (304 B.C.), he came to be seen more and more as a legitimate ruler. In order to set the record straight, Timaeus, as a historian, had to go all the way back, from Agathocles to Phalaris, and to sort out who were the exemplary and legitimate Sicilian rulers and who were not. Only within the framework of the critical revision of the Sicilian tradition as a whole⁴⁷ could Agathocles be assigned

⁴⁶ *Classical Foundations* (n. 45), p. 46, 99.

⁴⁷ Timaeus' systematically critical re-examination of the entire Sicilian historiographical tradition was duly noticed by Flavius Josephus: see *FGrHist* 566 T17: ... ἀλλ' οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν Σικελικῶν τοῖς περὶ Αντίοχον καὶ Φίλιστον ἢ Καλλίαν Τιμαῖος συμφωνεῖν ἠξίωσεν. Polybius remarked, in a polemical spirit, that Timaeus' great reputation as a historian only rested on his abilities as a critic: see book XII *passim*, and esp. 25c. Timaeus' frequent polemics earned him his nick-name Ἐπιτίμαιος, «Fault-Finder» (T16).

his proper place in that tradition. Timaeus' historiographical itinerary, starting from and coming back to Agathocles, is called in Vattuone's phrase «la retrodizione ad Agatocle». Since religious views were, at any stage in the development of the Sicilian traditions, intimately connected with the image-building of the Sicilian rulers, they were bound to play a major role in Timaeus' *retractatio*: far from ignoring them, he used and adapted religious themes in a way as to suit his own political orientation. Needless to say, among modern critics Vattuone is probably most categorical in his rejection of Polybius' assessment of Timaeus' religious position, which he considers to be a 'riduzione', resting on a distorted view of the true significance of the religious factor in Timaeus' work⁴⁸.

From this review of modern opinion one may perhaps gain the impression that fragments can be made to fit any possible interpretation. There is, indeed, an undeniable methodological problem involved in trying to recover from a work that is, for the greater part, irretrievably lost, not only the ideas of its author, but also the way(s) in which these ideas might have functioned in that work. I am aware of this problem and of the hypothetical nature of some, not of all of the conclusions that will be proposed here. In order to avoid arbitrary judgements as much as possible, I will in principle base my interpretations on the evidence of the fragments and will make only strictly limited use of the so-called indirect tradition: always in close connection with the attested fragments themselves and only in those cases where modern critics almost unanimously agree on the 'Timaeian' origin of the passage in question⁴⁹.

*

* *

We will deal with the politically relevant fragments in chronological order. First comes the story of Phalaris' brazen bull, in which this tyrant of Agragas (Agrigentum — ca. 571 to ca. 555 B.C.) is said to have roasted his political enemies alive. The main evidence⁵⁰ is strongly

⁴⁸ *Sapienza d'Occidente*, p. 84; see also p. 237.

⁴⁹ One reason for not including Dion in our examination of Sicilian politicians is the fact that not one fragment from Timaeus providing a direct evaluation of Dion survives. In a recently published article, L.J. SANDERS, *What Did Timaeus Think of Dion?*, *Hermes* 120 (1992), p. 205-215, challenges the scholarly consensus that Timaeus' appraisal was wholly or largely positive.

⁵⁰ *FGrHist* 566 F28 (Diod. XIII 90.4; Polyb. XII 25; Schol. Pindar., *Pyth.* I 185). Diodorus' account of the Ecnomus-battle (XIX 106-110, esp. 108.1), which can safely be

debated. Some fifteen years ago I myself added the last but one item to an already long bibliography⁵¹. I tried to argue two closely connected points: (a) that Polybius discussed the story of Phalaris' bull (XII 25) in support of his immediately preceding statement that abject superstition sometimes blinded Timaeus to the obvious facts of history⁵²; and (b) that religious themes were indeed essential to the version as told by Timaeus. Both points are, of course, specifically relevant for our present purpose. The fact that Serena Bianchetti, in a recent monograph⁵³, fully agrees with my views, makes my position today somewhat more comfortable, especially since there is no room for detailed discussion of the various intricate philological and historical problems connected with this topic. I confine myself to a rough outline of what I believe to have been the respective versions of Polybius and Timaeus.

To the former, who in Carthage probably had seen with his own eyes a brazen bull which he identified with that of Phalaris⁵⁴, the indisputable facts of history were (1) that there had been a bull of Phalaris at Acragas; (2) that this very bull had been taken away and transported to Carthage at some time during the Carthaginian domination of Sicily (406-264 B.C.); and (3) that it had been restored to Acragas by the Romans⁵⁵. Polybius was, therefore, perplexed by Timaeus' version which *primo* located Phalaris' bull not at Acragas, but in neighbouring territory, conquered by the tyrant, at a place named Ecnomus; *secundo* claimed that the people of Acragas, no doubt on the occasion of the violent overthrow of Phalaris' tyranny, had sunk the bull into the sea; and *tertio* specified that the bull shown at Acragas in his days, and considered by public opinion

traced back to Timaeus as a source, will be studied in close connection with these fragments.

⁵¹ *AncSoc* 9 (1978), p. 117-148.

⁵² Very much in the sense of *Ev. Matth.* 13.13: βλέποντες οὐ βλέπουσι καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούουσιν.

⁵³ *Falaride e Pseudofalaride. Storia e Leggenda*, Roma 1987.

⁵⁴ Since it had a door at the joint of its shoulder-blades, through which victims could be let down; and since Polybius could not imagine any reason why the bull in Carthage could be of local manufacture (Polyb. XII 25.3). P. PÉDECH, *Polybe XII*, p. 120-122, observes that «à première vue ces raisons paraissent faibles», but goes out of his way to defend Polybius' view. See also F.W. WALBANK, *Hist. Comm.* II, p. 380-383. Polybius was probably wrong in assuming that the bull he himself had seen on the occasion of his visit to Carthage in 146 B.C. was the bull of Phalaris: it was most probably a local bull, used in the context of human sacrifices, on which see Clitarchus *FGrHist* 137 F9; cf. T.S. BROWN, *Timaeus*, p. 56-57.

⁵⁵ This was done by Scipio Aemilianus (Cicero, *2Verr.* IV 73; Diod., XIII 90.4). Cf. A.E. ASTIN, *Scipio Aemilianus*, Oxford 1967, p. 252 and 302.

to be that of Phalaris, was in fact a statue of the river-god Gelas. Timaeus' criticism of the πολλή δόξα⁵⁶ on this matter reminds one of the «Tyrannenexkurs» of Thucydides, in which the Athenian historian took issue with the people's opinion of the end of the tyranny of the Pisistratids⁵⁷. If seen in the proper light of a refutation of the erroneous views circulating in Acragas, Timaeus' emphatic denial expressed in the phrase μήτε γεγονέναι τοιοῦτον ἐν τῇ προειρημένη πόλει, which has caused so much trouble to the interpreters, becomes unambiguously clear: the insistence on the fact «that there had never been such a bull at Acragas» is perfectly correlative with his positive statement that the Phalaris-bull had been erected at the tyrant's stronghold Ecnomus.

Timaeus seems to have vigorously argued his case against not just the views held by the people, but also against the poets and historians; having dealt at length and in great detail with the question, he prided himself on having set the record straight: ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἑαυτὸν ἀποπέφαγκεν ἀκριβολογούμενον⁵⁸. We are, unfortunately, no longer able to recover the various stages of his critical reconstruction, except for one element: the etymological argument drawn from the toponym Ecnomus. The place took its name, so we read in a surely 'Timaeian' passage in Diodorus⁵⁹, from the impiety of the horrible executions that occurred there. The toponym was considered by Timaeus to have a direct bearing on the «eknomia» or «lawlessness» of Phalaris' regime. It has repeatedly been observed by modern critics that the proposed Greek aetiological explanation of the *Phoenician* place-name 'Encomi' is completely arbitrary; far from having any value as historical evidence, Timaeus' use of such an argument would illustrate, on the contrary, the part of free invention that is widely considered as typical of his so-called 'rhetorical' approach to history writing⁶⁰; the idea of a possibly super-

⁵⁶ Polybius transforms these words surreptitiously into a much more respectable κοινή φήμη (25.4).

⁵⁷ Thucyd. VI 54-59.

⁵⁸ Cf. Diod. XIII 90.6; Polyb. XII 25.5.

⁵⁹ XIX 108.1.

⁶⁰ Cf. T.J. DUNBABIN, *The Western Greeks*, Oxford 1948, p. 317: «Phalaris was ... associated with Eknomos by its etymology...; the etymology is bad, and the bull was certainly at Akragas». Cf. *ibid.*, p. 320 and n. 7. See also L. PEARSON, *Timaeus*, p. 239: «These etymologies [*scil.* of the place names Ecnomus and Phalarion] (which may not really be traditional) are a sure sign that Timaeus is Diodorus' source here. He loved to find such explanations of place names and pretend that they were traditional». Cf. H. BERVE, *Die Herrschaft des Agathokles* (SBAW 1952.5), p. 9, following R. LAQUEUR, art. *Timaïos*, in *RE VIA* (1936), col. 1169.

stitious Timaeus is not far away. I myself considered the etymology a manifest example of an *ad hoc*-explanation: this view, I am glad to say, should be corrected now. As Serena Bianchetti has pointed out with reference to the toponymical research done by G. Navarra⁶¹, the change from Encomi to Ecnomus took place in Sicilian tradition, long before Timaeus' own lifetime; it occurred, as they plausibly suggest, in remembrance of the lawless things that really happened there at the time of Phalaris' tyranny. A passage in Plutarch's *Life of Dion*, which derives from Timonides, testifies to the fact that the toponym Ecnomus existed prior to Timaeus⁶². If Timaeus did not himself invent the Greek etymology to suit his own purposes, he certainly gave it a new significance in his narrative in connection with the events that occurred in his own lifetime. In his continuous struggle with the Carthaginians⁶³ Agathocles had suffered a major military setback in 311 B.C. at the very place where *the tyrant had set up the brazen bull*. In his account of the battle Diodorus (XIX 108-109), most certainly following Timaeus⁶⁴, tells how, from the outset, religious fear took hold of both armies (συνέβαινε δεισιδαιμονεῖν) because of the warnings of old.

«Sayings from earlier times (φῆμαι ... ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων χρόνων) were current that *near that place* a great number of men were destined to perish in battle».

There is no room here for a detailed analysis of the battle description, which shows, as I developed elsewhere, in all its components the inter-

⁶¹ *Città sicane, sicule e greche nella zona di Gela*, Palermo 1964, p. 108 sqq. (*non vidi*).

⁶² Plut., *Dion* 26. On Timonides (*FGrHist* 561) as Plutarch's source for the passage in question, see Serena BIANCHETTI, *Falaride* (n. 53), p. 65 with n. 37 (literature); see also, generally, E. MANNI, *Timonide e la vita plutarchea di Dione*, *Aion [filol.]* 11 (1989), p. 75-79; F. MUCCIOLI, *Osservazioni sull' uso di Timonide nella Vita di Dione di Plutarco*, *AncSoc* 21 (1990), p. 167-187.

⁶³ From 314 to 306 B.C.

⁶⁴ With the exception of S.N. CONSOLO LANGHER, *La politica di Agatocle e i caratteri della tradizione*, *ASM* 1975-76, p. 77 (cf. EAD., in *La Sicilia Antica* II 1, Napoli 1980, p. 298 and p. 328 n. 33), who argues for Duris as a source, modern critics agree that Diodorus XIX 108-109 should be traced back to Timaeus: cf. *AncSoc* 9 (1978), p. 142; Serena BIANCHETTI, *Falaride* (n. 53), p. 65-66 and n. 39; W. HUSS, *Die Geschichte der Karthager* (*HdA*, III 8), München 1985, p. 183 n. 48; L. PEARSON, *Timaeus*, p. 239-240, argues that Diodorus did not give Timaeus' full narrative and added some more rational comments of his own. This is rather improbable, not only in view of the typical 'Timaeian' features of Diodorus' narrative (on which see *AncSoc* 9, 1978, p. 142-145), but also in the light of Pearson's own observation (*ibid.*, p. 272; see also *Historia* 33, 1984, p. 1-20) that Diodorus did not have the habit of frequent personal comment.

ference of the supernatural⁶⁵. As the account progresses the reader notices that a meaningful relationship is established between the initial ἀσέβεια of Phalaris, the prediction of disaster, the fear in both armies of the fulfilment of the prophecy, the amazing course of the battle, and the final calamity that takes place on hill Ecnomus itself. The suggestion that Agathocles is the victim of a curse on the *place* Ecnomus is hammered home by the repetition of the word τόπος in the three crucial phases of the story: the pollution (108.1), the prophecy (108.2), and the fulfilment (109.4). The narrative clearly conveys the message that the events around Phalaris' bull had brought a curse on the place Ecnomus, the catastrophic effect of which was still to be felt centuries later. So, the tyrant Agathocles appears as a victim of divine retribution for the sacrilegious behaviour of that other tyrant.

The religious and the political meaning of Timaeus' narrative cannot be overlooked. The story offers a typical illustration of this historian's method of revealing — either through the study of names or through the observation of remarkable coincidences of time or place — some of the more hidden and mysterious ways in which the gods operate in history. Throughout his work Timaeus likes to establish links between events that do not seem to have any obvious connection, because they occur at different times or at widely distant places. At the same time the divinely sanctioned linkage of Agathocles with Phalaris amounts to the strongest possible political condemnation of the former. Phalaris, who had a record of unsurpassed cruelty, was in Greek public opinion more than just a Sicilian tyrant; he had become the symbol *par excellence* of the horrors of tyranny⁶⁶. It is telling of Timaeus' political assessment that he goes out of his way to prove that Agathocles was even more cruel than Phalaris. To that effect he tells the story — which in itself is another proof of both tyrants' close association — that Agathocles, in order to

⁶⁵ *AncSoc* 9 (1978), esp. p. 135-148. On the possible ritual meaning of the *katapon-tismos* of the bull-statue and the closely connected depiction of Phalaris as 'pharmakon' of Acragas, see *ibid.*, p. 146-147; cf. also Serena BIANCHETTI, *Falaride pharmakon di Agrigento*, *Sileno* 12 (1986), p. 101-109.

⁶⁶ Cf. T.S. BROWN, *Timaeus*, p. 56; C. MOSSÉ, *La tyrannie dans la Grèce antique*, Paris 1969, p. 80. Phalaris' ill repute dates back at least to the days of Pindarus, who in conclusion to his first Pythian Ode produces Phalaris as a contrasting figure to the good king. «In all lands hateful speech oppresses Phalaris, pitiless burner of men in the brazen bull. No lyres in hall welcome him to the soft embrace of boys' voices» (*Pyth.* I 185-195; translation F.J. Nisetich, Baltimore 1980, p. 159). Serena BIANCHETTI, *Falaride* (n. 53), offers a complete survey of the ancient literary tradition on Phalaris.

molest his enemies in the most cruel and inhuman way possible, «also invented a torture similar to the bull of Phalaris»: he used a brazen bed shaped like a human body in which he roasted his victims alive, the contrivance being superior to the bull in that those who were perishing in anguish were visible⁶⁷.

Apart from passing judgement in closely related religious and political terms, the linking of Agathocles and Phalaris still has, I believe, a wider historiographical function. In Timaeus' narrative Phalaris and Agathocles sit like bookends at the beginning and the end of his discussion of Sicilian political history. Their linkage through divine punishment establishes, therefore, some kind of interpretative framework for the 'pragmatic' part of his history as a whole. We will have to see whether this hypothesis is borne out by the subsequent treatment of politicians active on the Sicilian scene in the intermediate period between Phalaris and Agathocles. As it is, the use of the religious dimension as a means for bringing together — over a wide span of time and in one historical vision — the most «lawless and sacrilegious» men in the history of Sicily would, indeed, fit well to the retrospective approach which, as Vattuone believes, Timaeus adopted in his study of history. But, before we have a closer look at the way in which this historian treated Gelon, Dionysius, and Timoleon, let us round off the first section in our discussion of the evidence with some provisional conclusions.

Given the fact that Timaeus propounded a highly personal view of the stories connected with Phalaris' bull, we may be confident to consider this very narrative as typical of the way in which he integrated the religious factor in his work⁶⁸. Unless we have completely gone astray in our analysis, the historiographical meaning of religion can be perceived on three levels. First, religious beliefs, because they affect the attitude of the historical actors, play a vital role in the development of events; they contribute to understand and, as far as Timaeus is concerned, to explain the course of history. Second, divine interference in human affairs appears as a means for passing political judgement. Third, a key-role seems to be assigned to the religious factor as a major, constructive

⁶⁷ Diod. XX 71, esp. 71.3, undoubtedly following Timaeus; cf. L. PEARSON, *Timaeus*, p. 251.

⁶⁸ T.S. BROWN, *Timaeus*, p. 57-58, discovered in this very story «something of Timaeus' philosophy of history»: he suggests the presence of some cyclic constitutional theory in Timaeus.

element of the macro-structure underlying Timaeus' account of political and military events.

What we know about Timaeus' treatment of Gelon seems to confirm plainly the prominent role attributed to religion for assessing the political career of Sicilian rulers. For that matter, as far as Gelon is concerned, there seems to have been in the Sicilian historiographical tradition a wide consensus for praising him as a true national hero: all Sicilian historians wanted Gelon's victory over the Carthaginians (Himera, 480 B.C.) to be recognised as matching the victories of the Greeks over the Persians⁶⁹. They also shared the belief that Gelon was distinguished from others by clear evidence of divine favour. The story of how divine protection saved his life was told, as Tzetzes implies, by all historians of Sicilian stock, as far as he knew them: the Τίμαιοι, Διονύσιοι, Διόδωροι καὶ Δίων⁷⁰. Gelon, while still a little boy, almost miraculously escaped from death when the school he attended as a pupil collapsed in an earthquake: just before the dramatic event took place, he had run out of the schoolhouse chasing a wolf that had snatched his writing tablet. Apart from conveying the message that the history of Sicily would have been different if he had not survived⁷¹, the story, focusing on Gelon's *praedestinatio ad regnum*, was clearly in the first place meant to legitimise his rule.

As far as can Timaeus' personal views on Gelon can be detached from the rest of the tradition, the evidence points in the direction that he might have emphasized more than others the divine inspiration of his military actions and political behaviour. Through his synchronizing of the Battle

⁶⁹ On this point, Timaeus does not seem to have found any ground for disagreement, not even with Philistus whose political stance in favour of tyranny as an institution makes him in almost all other matters one of the main targets of his criticisms. Cf. T.S. BROWN, *Timaeus*, p. 63. Philistus' important role in the elaboration of the Sicilian traditions on Himera is duly stressed by M. ZÄHRNT, *Die Schlacht bei Himera und die sizilische Historiographie*, *Chiron* 23 (1993), p. 353-390. The historiographical tradition concerning Gelon and the battle of Himera has recently also been dealt with by B. BRAVO, *Rappresentazioni di vicende di Sicilia e di Grecia degli anni 481-480 a.C. presso storici antichi. Studio di racconti e discorsi storiografici*, *Athenaeum* N.S. 81 (1993), p. 39-99 and 441-482; and W. AMELING, *Karthago. Studien zu Militär, Staat und Gesellschaft*, München 1993, p. 15-65, esp. 18-33.

⁷⁰ *FGrHist* 566 F95. Tzetzes could certainly have added more names, since we know that the story in question was also in Philistus; he too wrote about Gelon's 'dog' (*FGrHist* 556 F48). On *FGrHist* 566 F95 see also R. VATTUONE, *Sapienza d'Occidente*, p. 166-167.

⁷¹ Cf. L. PEARSON, *Timaeus*, p. 129.

of Himera not with Salamis, as in Herodotus, but with Thermopylae, Timaeus added a personal note which both enhanced the panhellenic significance of this victory and revealed Gelon's role in implementing, at a crucial moment in the history of the Greeks, a divine plan:

«it was as if the deity had intentionally arranged (ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες τοῦ δαιμονίου) that both the fairest victory and the most honourable defeat should take place at the same time»⁷².

If, as in Timaeus' narrative, Gelon's victory preceded the turn of the tide in Greece, it became «more glorious as an omen of the ultimate Hellenic triumph»⁷³: in a moment of great despair in Hellas, the news of the victory of the Sicilians heartened the men of Greece⁷⁴. The 'metahistorical' message of synchronicity makes Gelon appear as an instrument of the supernatural. On account of his military virtue (ἀρετή, στρατηγία, σύνεσις) and his political wisdom and moderation (εὐνοία, ἐπιείκεια, φιλάνθρωπία) Timaeus confers on Gelon the 'honorific' titles εὐεργέτην, σωτήρα, βασιλέα⁷⁵. The 'Ptolemaic' items «benefactor» and «saviour» cannot be traditional; but neither can their religious overtones be denied. If interpreted in close connection with Gelon's χάρις revealed to the Geloans⁷⁶, the anachronistic titles are nothing but Timaeus' own modern way of expressing in the highest possible terms, as R. Vattuone puts it «su un piano religioso», his approbation of the politician Gelon. A more traditional and more straightforward way of communicating these ideas is found in the phrase ἡγεμονικώτατος καὶ θεότατος with which Timaeus, according to Polybius, seems to have characterised Gelon and some other great Syracusan men following in his track⁷⁷. In his view, the Syracusan leaders assured the political lead-

⁷² Diod. XI 24.1 (translation C.H. Oldfather); cf. D. ASHERI, *art. cit.* (n. 22), p. 56-60 (with reference to modern literature); and B. BRAVO, *art. cit.* (n. 69), p. 77-79.

⁷³ As L. PEARSON, *Timaeus*, p. 138, rightly observes.

⁷⁴ Diod. XI 23.2.

⁷⁵ Diod. XI 26.6. Scholars agree that Diodorus' laudatory account (XI 20-26) has a Timaeian origin; for the latest discussion (with reference to earlier literature), see B. BRAVO, *art. cit.* (n. 69), p. 62-88. On the role played by Philistus at an earlier stage in the elaboration of the untrustworthy Sicilian traditions («Geschichtsklitterung»), see esp. the critical analysis by M. ZAHNT, *art. cit.* (n. 69).

⁷⁶ F18. See R. VATTUONE, *Sapienza d'Occidente*, p. 173.

⁷⁷ Gelon seems to have headed Timaeus' canon of «great politicians» (πραγματικώτατοι ἄνδρες), that included Hermocrates, Timoleon and perhaps also Pyrrhus: see *FGrHist* 566 F22. On the interpretation of this important fragment, see R. VATTUONE, *Sapienza d'Occidente*, p. 93, 245-260, 292-293; *id.*, *In margine ad un problema di storiografia ellenistica: Timeo e Pirro*, *Historia* 31 (1982), p. 245-248.

ership of their city over Sicily because and insofar as they were the closest friends of the gods⁷⁸. The combined parameters ἡγεμονικώτατος καὶ θεότατος summarise the bare essentials of Timaeus' historical judgement. Although himself a tyrant⁷⁹, Gelon constituted, in Timaeus' eyes, the paradigm of the good Sicilian ruler⁸⁰.

Given the exemplary significance of Gelon's rule in Sicilian tradition generally, and especially in Timaeus, all subsequent rulers seem to have called upon him while trying to legitimise their position, either on account of their merits in the struggle against the foreign enemy or on account of their political behaviour at home. There is no doubt that the reference to Gelon played an important role in the propagandist historiography which tried to legitimise Dionysius' rule as tyrant of Syracuse. Hence, it was a matter of foremost importance to Timaeus to distinguish the politicians who really conformed to the 'paradigm king' from those who only pretended to do so. Plutarch recalls that the παρρησιαστής Dion once reproved the tyrant Dionysius for making a pun on Gelon's name; he had joked that Gelon had become the «laughing-stock» of Sicily:

«You might remember», retorted Dion, «that the reason why you are tyrant today is that people trusted you because of the example that Gelon set. After what you have said, nobody will be trusted because of *your* example».

Plutarch's comments to the effect that Gelon succeeded in making absolute rule appear admirable, whereas Dionysius could only make it appear detestable, make it plausible that Timaeus was his source⁸¹. This is indirectly confirmed by a speech in Diodorus in which Theodorus, a Syracusan citizen, denounces Dionysius in a moment of great crisis (396 B.C): in a city besieged by the Carthaginians, he calls upon his fellow citizens to rise against the tyrant and to fight for their freedom.

⁷⁸ F94 = Polyb. XII 26b.4. L. PEARSON's rendering of the phrase ἡγεμονικώτατος καὶ θεότατος as «the men in authority in Syracuse [are] the most gifted leaders of their day» (*Timaeus*, p. 133), misses the religious bearing of Timaeus' judgement.

⁷⁹ This would indicate that Timaeus' hatred of tyranny was perhaps less dogmatic than generally accepted. As T.S. BROWN, *Timaeus*, p. 61, already observed, constitutional theory mattered less to him than real people.

⁸⁰ See T.S. BROWN, *Greek Historians*, p. 159; L. PEARSON, *Timaeus*, p. 41, 139; R. VATTUONE, *Sapienza d'Occidente*, p. 159-185: Chapter V: "Il re paradigma (FF 18-21; FF 92-96J)".

⁸¹ See also L. PEARSON, *Timaeus*, p. 193; R. VATTUONE, *Sapienza d'Occidente*, p. 153-157.

Theodorus argues, among other things, that any pretence of comparing Dionysius with Gelon is absurd⁸². We can reasonably be confident in considering the speech in Diodorus as Timaeus-derived⁸³. Theodorus' speech paints a picture of Dionysius «as the worst of all citizens, the harshest of tyrants and the most ignoble of all generals» (69.2). It shows how Timaeus went out of his way to shatter the image of continuity linking Dionysius with Gelon. The main argument of the speech combines — in a way that betrays Timaeus' manner — the political and military reasons for breaking away from the tyrant with a strong religious motivation. We cannot expect, says Theodorus, that a man of such notorious impiety (τὸν ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ διωνομασμένον) can win the war for us (67.4), nor will the gods be on our side unless we throw out the man «who has pillaged the shrines of the gods»; ... «for it is manifest that heaven opposes those who have chosen the worst enemy of religion (τὸν ἀσεβέστατον) as their leader» (69.2-3). The whole thrust of the argument comes down to this: people must get rid of a ἡγέμων who is ἀσεβέστατος. This is the perfect counterpart to the pair ἡγεμονικώτατος καὶ θέοτατος.

If this is Timaeus' way of expressing his opinion on Dionysius' rule⁸⁴, one understands why he was so heavily critical of Philistus, an active supporter of the Syracusan tyranny whose Σικελικά had propagated in Greece the image of Dionysius as a legitimate ruler and liberator of the Greeks. Philistus had heralded Dionysius' future greatness by telling, among other favourable portents, the story of his mother's dream:

«when she was pregnant, carrying this same Dionysius in her womb, she dreamed that she gave birth to a *satyriscum* (a baby satyr). The interpreters of omens ... told her that the son she bore would be very famous in the Greek world and that his fortune would long endure»⁸⁵.

⁸² Diod. XIV 65-69, esp. 66.1.

⁸³ According to L. PEARSON, *Timaeus*, p. 178-179, it can be claimed as «pure Timaeus»; cf. ID., *The Speeches in Timaeus' History*, *AJPh* 107 (1986), p. 350-368, esp. 354-355; L.J. SANDERS, *Dionysius I of Syracuse and Greek Tyranny*, London 1987, p. 134-142, expresses reservations on the 'Timaeus' origin: see, however, R. VATTUONE, *Sapienza d'Occidente*, p. 153 n. 94; G. VANOTTI, *I discorsi siracusani di Diodoro Siculo*, *RIL* 124 (1990), p. 8-19; and B. BRAVO, *art. cit.* (n. 69), p. 454-481, esp. 472 (essential reading for any future discussion of the speeches in Diodorus).

⁸⁴ Cf. L. PEARSON, *Timaeus*, p. 178-181; R. VATTUONE, *Sapienza d'Occidente*, p. 153-157 («L'impossibile esempio»).

⁸⁵ *FGrHist* 556 F57a. Galeotae. F58 has the story of another favourable omen that occurred shortly before Dionysius began his reign.

Most certainly in reaction to this Timaeus told the story of the dream of a certain woman,

«a Himeraean by birth, who dreamt that she was taken up to heaven to see the homes of the gods; and there she saw a redheaded man, big in stature, securely chained with a collar to Zeus' throne. She asked her guide who he was and was told: he is the scourge (ἀλάστωρ) of Sicily and Italy, and if he is let loose, he will ruin those countries. She awoke and some time afterwards she met Dionysius the tyrant with his spear bearers. When she saw him, she cried out that he was the man who was pointed out as 'the scourge'. Saying this, she fell to the ground in a faint. After three months she disappeared, having been secretly murdered by Dionysius»⁸⁶.

By inverting an omen that is favourable in Philistus Timaeus tried to distort and overturn Philistus' assessment of the tyrant's career. It is important to note that the bad omen as told by Timaeus did not originate with him. As can be shown from the passage in Aeschines that prompted the scholiast to make his remark and to cite from Timaeus' work, Demosthenes compared his rival Aeschines to Dionysius the Sicilian tyrant «and warned you to beware of me ... telling the story of the dream of the priestess in Sicily». The dream must have been current in Sicily and elsewhere in the Greek world and was exactly what Timaeus needed as a response to the dream recorded by Philistus⁸⁷. The scholiast calls attention to a different reading: the priestess (ἱερεῖα) of Aeschines' text has become a women from Himera (Ἱμεραία) in Timaeus. There is perhaps no 'error' involved here, due to a slip of the pen, as the scholiast assumes. The substitution of the Himeraean woman to the priestess of the tale may have been Timaeus' own work: on the one hand, Himera had been the theatre of Gelon's glorious victory in 480 B.C., on the other, it had been completely destroyed by the Carthaginians in 408 B.C. The woman of Himera, therefore, stood as a symbol for the sufferings of the Western Greeks and expressed the political implications of the dream still more poignantly⁸⁸. More could be said of Timaeus' hostile evaluation of Dionysius, whose appearance on the Sicilian political scene he regarded as the beginning of a tragedy. To that effect Timaeus

⁸⁶ *FGrHist* 566 F29. Cf. T.S. BROWN, *Timaeus*, p. 76; L. PEARSON, *Timaeus*, p. 165-166; and esp. R. VATTUONE, *Su Timeo F 29 Jacoby*, *RSA* 11 (1981), p. 139-145; M. SORDI, *Il fr. 29 Jacoby di Timeo e la lettura augustea di un passo di Filisto*, *Latomus* 43 (1984), p. 534-539.

⁸⁷ Cf. also L.J. SANDERS, *Dionysius I* (n. 83), p. 51-52.

⁸⁸ Cf. L. SANDERS, *Dionysius I* (n. 83), p. 82, following R. Vattuone.

pointed to the most remarkable synchronicity of Dionysius' rise to power — his election as *stratègos autokrator* in late winter 406 B.C. — with the death of Euripides. «At the same moment,» Timaeus says, «Fortune led away the imitator of tragic experiences and brought in the actor himself»⁸⁹. D. Asheri takes this curious instance of synchronization as proof «that Timaeus, like many of his contemporaries and successors, superstitiously believed in the effect of Tyche on human affairs and that he fully exploited the conventional rhetoric of this belief in order to 'decode' a given chronological coincidence by interpreting it as a supernatural sign. This just confirms what was already well-known from Timaeus' own fragments and from Polybius' judgement of his predecessor». There is no point in denying that Timaeus knew and used the rhetorical value of coincidence⁹⁰. Pseudo-Longinus, no doubt, rightly criticised Timaeus' affectation resulting from his striving for unusual and well-wrought effects⁹¹. As far as superstition is concerned, I would not be so rash to draw this conclusion. The following remarks should perhaps be made. First, Timaeus was not, as F. Jacoby and others suspected, arbitrarily manipulating chronology. Second, the 'first inventor' of the synchronism in question seems to have been Philistus, not Timaeus. Since Dionysius was an amateur tragic poet and a great admirer of the Athenian playwright, Philistus probably played the tyrant's game by making a move to represent him as Euripides' successor. The mere presence of such an element in the propagandist tradition on the Sicilian tyrant must have challenged Timaeus to reinterpret the synchronism in a way that suited his own purposes. It certainly did not take Timaeus long to see how the theme of tragedy could be exploited to Dionysius' disadvantage. For that matter, we have supplementary evidence in the fragments pointing to Timaeus' critical re-elaboration of the theatre metaphor as used by Philistus⁹². Finally, whereas Philistus was making Dionysius compliments for his supposedly literary talent, Timaeus was again using existing materials to convey a 'metahistoric'

⁸⁹ *FGrHist* 566 F105. Cf. D. ASHERI, *art. cit.* (n. 22), p. 75-80.

⁹⁰ Cf. L. PEARSON, *Timaeus*, p. 157-158.

⁹¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 251.

⁹² The amazement which Timaeus expresses in *FGrHist* 566 F112 can only be understood properly in the light of Philistus *FGrHist* 556 F40b (on Dionysius' ἐξόδιον θεατρικόν). F109 and 112 combined make it plausible that Timaeus connected Dionysius' assumption of power in 406 B.C. with the *tragedy* of the destruction of Acragas. See L.J. SANDERS, *Dionysius I* (n. 83), p. 83-84; R. VATTUONE, *Sapienza d'Occidente*, p. 126-130.

political message, cast in presumably the following terms: Euripides was born on the day of Salamis when the freedom of Greece was saved, and died on the day when Dionysius became tyrant to rob the Western Greeks of their freedom.

As opposed to the satirical portrayal of Dionysius as a 'maker' of tragedy for Sicily, Timoleon figured in Timaeus' work as «a minister of the gods who had come with a divinely appointed mission to avenge the wrongs of Sicily». These words are not cited from a fragment of Timaeus, but from Plutarch's *Life of Timoleon*⁹³. Timoleon won a brilliant victory over the Carthaginians at the battle of the River Crimisus and expelled all tyrants from Sicily. His career symbolises the restoration of freedom and the victory of democracy over autocracy. Timaeus' admiration, though excessive in our eyes, seems to have been genuine. This, in Timaeus' case, also means that it was expressed in religious terms. Yet, for all his lavish praise of Timoleon, which caused Polybius' irritation, Timaeus restrained himself in at least two respects: he made, *pace Polybius*, no attempt at deification of Timoleon on the one hand nor did he see him as a mere instrument of the gods. According to Timaeus' interpretation, the divine *and* the human agencies joined together in a *kairos* of history⁹⁴.

*

* *

In this paper I have tried to explain Timaeus' recurrence to the divine in terms of a variety of factors other than superstition. Let us now, in conclusion of this incomplete and brief survey, make an attempt to define Timaeus' religious position, in the hope that friendly criticism may stimulate further research of the problem.

Timaeus' 'religious' attitude must, first of all, be understood against the background of the tradition in which he was working and of the Greek religious attitude in general. At the risk of being naive we must remind ourselves of the basic fact that Timaeus and the public for whom

⁹³ Plut., *Timoleon* 16.12; translation I. Scott-Kilvert (*Penguin Classics*).

⁹⁴ *FGrHist* 566 F119; R. VATTUONE, *Sapienza d'Occidente*, p. 98-106, duly emphasizes the meaning of *ξυνήψατο*, which in the Sophoclean verse gives expression to the alliance of human virtue and divine favour. On *συνάπτεσθαι* see also J. JOUANNA, *La main de Dieu qui touche. Remarques sur l'emploi d'une maxime et sur le sens de ΣΥΝΑΠΤΕΣΘΑΙ dans la tragédie grecque: Eschyle, Perses V.742 et 724; Euripide, Hélène, V.1444; Sophocle, Fragm. 874 (Radt), REG 106 (1993), p. 181-194, esp. 189-190.*

he wrote lived in a non-secularised world. As the economic historians of Antiquity developed the notion of the 'embedded' economy to describe the numerous political and social constraints that influenced economic activity, one might use the concept of embedded religion in order to account for the virtually inseparable links between social, political and religious history⁹⁵. The idea of embedded religion perhaps found its most formal expression in Plato's account of the polis and its institutions in the *Laws*⁹⁶. Aristotle too reckons the performance of religious duties among the ἀναγκαῖαι ἐπιμέλειαι of the polis⁹⁷. The close links between religion and politics («things related to the polis») were particularly felt in times of crisis and warfare. Under these circumstances it was a matter of vital importance that citizens should conduct their affairs, as Xenophon says, θεῶν συνεθελόντων⁹⁸. Thus, religious manifestations were part of the story any conscientious ancient historian had to tell. Ancient historiography illuminates, more often than not, the interplay between politics and religion. Herodotus acknowledges the interference of the divine in the human affairs in such a tangible manner that some of his critics believe him not to think in political, but primar-

⁹⁵ Cf. J.N. BREMMER, *Greek Religion (Greece & Rome. New Surveys in the Classics, No. 24)*, Oxford 1994, p. 2-4.

⁹⁶ See esp. book X and the comments offered by H. YUNIS, *A New Creed: Fundamental Religious Beliefs in the Athenian Polis and Euripidean Drama*, Göttingen 1988, p. 29-37. In Plato's view the nature and the degree of the belief in the gods which the citizens of a polis must have in order to maintain the prosperity and even the viability of the state, almost make theology «a department of political science». More examples of the close links between religion and politics are discussed by Christiane SOURVINOU-INWOOD, *What is Polis Religion?*, in O. MURRAY – S. PRICE (ed.), *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, Oxford 1990, p. 295-322; cf. Emily KEARNS, *Saving the City*, *ibid.*, p. 323-344; L.B. ZAIDMAN – P.S. PANTEL, *Religion in the Greek City*, Oxford 1992.

⁹⁷ Aristot., *Polit.* VI 8, esp. 1322b 18-37; cf. 1328b 2-23. Cf. H. YUNIS, *A New Creed* (n. 96), p. 19-28.

⁹⁸ Commenting on his frequent use of the formula σὺν θεῷ πράττειν, Xenophon concludes his essay *On the Cavalry Commander* with a concise statement of the Greek view in this area: «when war occurs and the opponents plot against one another ... one can find no one else with whom to consult except the gods. The gods know all things and in sacrifices, omens, voices, and dreams they give forewarnings to whomever they wish» (*Hipparchikos* 9.7-9). An excellent treatment of the more striking religious phenomena in ancient Greek warfare can be found in H. POPP, *Die Einwirkung von Vorzeichen, Opfern und Festen auf die Kriegführung der Griechen im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v.Chr.*, Würzburg 1959; and W.K. PRICHETT, *op. cit.* (n. 7). See also A.J. HOLLADAY – M.D. GOODMAN, *Religious Scruples in Ancient Warfare*, *CQ* 36 (1986), p. 151-171; C. BEARZOT, *Mantica e condotta di guerra: strategi, soldati e indovini di fronte all'interpretazione dell' evento 'prodigioso'*, in M. SORDI (ed.), *La profezia nel mondo antico*, Milano 1993, p. 97-121.

ily in theological terms⁹⁹. Thucydides, on the other hand, is censured for his underestimation of the religious dimension to the Peloponnesian War. In a recent paper his omissions in this area are called «in its way as scandalous as the political silences of Xenophon»¹⁰⁰. But even the sceptic Thucydides did not fail to mention oracles and omens when men acted under their influence¹⁰¹. According to Xenophon, the Spartans lost their hegemony over the Greek world through divine punishment for the breaking of oaths¹⁰². And Ehippus explained Alexander's death as an act of vengeance by the god Dionysos, whose city (and sanctuary?) the Macedonian king had destroyed¹⁰³. Many of the «oracles, portents and unbelievable stories» figured in Timaeus' history for no other reason

⁹⁹ Cf. H. STRASBURGER, *Die Wesensbestimmung der Geschichte durch die antike Geschichtsschreibung*, Wiesbaden 1975, p. 32-33, who elucidates Herodotus' position with the formula «Primat der theologischen Geschichtsdeutung». Strasburger observes that Herodotus, «der letzte Repräsentant des archaischen Zeitalters», was the only Greek historian to have written a work in which religion held such a dominant position. A most telling passage is Herodotus' narrative of Xerxes' dream (VII 12-18), for which the *pater historiae* claims Persian sources (12.1: λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων). Recent scholarship emphasizes the Greek (Homeric and Aeschylean) origins of this 'Persian' dream: see A. KÖHNKEN, *Der dritte Traum des Xerxes bei Herodot.*, *Hermes* 116 (1988), p. 24-40; A.H.M. KESSELS, 'Perzische' Dromen en Xerxes' expeditie, *Lampas* 27 (1994), p. 266-280. The problem of the divine plan leaving no — or only very limited — room for free will as a principle of historical interpretation, is still one of the more important issues of Herodotean research: see J. HART, *Herodotus and Greek History*, London 1982, p. 27-44; B. SHIMRON, *Politics and Belief in Herodotus*, Stuttgart 1989.

¹⁰⁰ S. HORNBLOWER, *The Religious Dimension to the Peloponnesian War, or, What Thucydides does not tell us*, *HSPH* 92 (1992), p. 169-197 (quotation p. 170). In a similar vein E. BADIAN, *Plataea between Athens and Sparta*. In *Search of Lost History*, in H. BEISTER — J. BUCKLER (ed.), *Boiotika*, München 1989, p. 95-11, observes that Thucydides' «contempt for established Greek religion ... frequently impaired his historical judgement, with serious consequences for our own» (p. 98).

¹⁰¹ Thucydides notices e.g. the religious scruples that were observed by both parties during the war: he does not attempt to offer other, material or rational, explanations for the cases of Spartan expeditions aborted through earthquakes and bad omens; and he accepts for a fact that an eclipse of the moon prevented an Athenian retreat from Syracuse, while there was still hope of escape (VII 50.4). In 421 B.C. he records that the Athenians restored to Delos the population which they had previously removed, «both in consideration of the defeats they had received after their expulsion, and also because the oracle at Delphi had commanded it» (V 32.1; transl. Thomas Hobbes). The Spartans (cf. e.g. Thuc. II 74.3; VII 18.2) were obviously not the only people to interpret misfortune as a sign of divine displeasure.

¹⁰² Xenoph., *Hell.* V 3.27. On the role of the supernatural in his history, see J.-Cl. RIEDINGER, *Étude sur les Helléniques. Xénophon et l'histoire*, Paris 1991, p. 246-253; C. TUPLIN, *The Failings of Empire. A Reading of Xenophon Hellenica* 2.3.11-7.5.27, Stuttgart 1993, p. 215 (survey of the evidence).

¹⁰³ *FGrHist* 126 F3.

than that they were part of the received stories¹⁰⁴. On account of Polybius' criticism modern opinion has perhaps been too inclined to set Timaeus apart from the tradition he was working *in* and he was working *with*. The intertextual character of Timaeus' narrative has only recently received due attention¹⁰⁵.

So far we have considered Timaeus' historiographical narrative as reflective of the important role attributed to religion in the received traditions of the society in which he lived. Let us now have a look at the more special ways in which religion might have featured in his work.

A remarkable characteristic which sets Timaeus apart from other historians using religious explanations is his thorough and accurate (almost 'scientific') approach of the matter. The underlying thought seems to have been that, if the gods operate in history, as he certainly believed they did, traces of divine interference could be revealed through detailed and careful study of the historical evidence. A case in point is his treatment of the story of Phalaris' bull, where Timaeus prided himself on his ἀκριβολογία. Time and place often appear as special objects in this kind of research. As far as the factor 'time' is concerned, D. Asheri has convincingly shown that Timaeus was not less successful in establishing synchronisms on an irreproachably researched basis than he was keen on looking for the possible 'metahistoric' messages involved in chronological coincidence. I may quote here the following passage from his conclusion: «Contrary to the prevalent view, Timaeus' synchronizations do not seem arbitrary or fanciful inventions created purely for didactic purposes. As a matter of fact, some of them seem accurate, were probably well-documented or even were entered into synchronistic tables and almanacs by the end of the fourth century B.C. It can be safely argued that Timaeus did his homework diligently, treating his material in a way that was satisfactory to himself and to most of his contemporaries. Significantly, even his most censorious detractors did not find any flaw in his chronological reckonings: quite the contrary, his impeccable erudition and competence in the field were much admired. It is only a modern allegation, or at least suspicion, that Timaeus invented synchronisms

¹⁰⁴ Consultation of oracles, as we all know, was a fixed ingredient of all colonisation-stories; Timaeus included the history of the Greek colonisation of the West together with a great deal of legendary material in what appears to have been a five-book introduction to the main work; he must accordingly have dealt with numerous manifestations of the divine in his προκατασκευή.

¹⁰⁵ See R. VATTUONE, *Sapienza d'Occidente, passim*.

in defiance of all evidence ... Timaeus, of course, should be judged not by our standards but by those of his own times and within the limits of early Hellenistic erudition»¹⁰⁶. The same holds true for Timaeus' use of etymology as a means of 'scientifically' extracting transcendent teaching from place names or personal names. Greeks were generally inclined to take lucky or unlucky names seriously. It must be remembered in this context that Timaeus wrote his *Histories* at a time when Alexandrian literature was insisting on originality and novelty and was taking delight in aetiological explanations, however absurd by modern standards¹⁰⁷. So far Timaeus' methods were in keeping with the spirit of his age. The sophistication and pedantry, however, with which he displayed his findings earned him, as we have seen, in the period of the second sophistic the reproach of affectation.

The question can be asked whether Timaeus, on account of his beliefs and methods, should not be qualified as superstitious. The answer to such a question is, I think, largely a matter of taste, of prejudice, or of both. Decisive in the final analysis is the nature and the seriousness of his religious belief. As far as I know, Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704), the famous bishop of Meaux, was never accused of superstition for rehearsing the old providential plan of human history in his famous *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* (1691). In conclusion, he summarised his ideas as follows: «Thus God reigns over every nation. Let us no longer speak of coincidence or fortune; or let us use these words only to cover our ignorance. What is coincidence to our uncertain foresight is concerted design to a higher foresight, that is to the eternal foresight which encompasses all causes and effects in a single plan. Thus all things occur to the same end; and it is only because we fail to understand the whole design that we see coincidence or strangeness in particular events»¹⁰⁸.

Timaeus shows, *mutatis mutandis*, much the same cast of mind. The 'fragments' we discussed are indicative of the presence of a similar pattern of interpretation. Timaeus too seems to have understood the general course of events according to a concerted design of a supernatural agent.

¹⁰⁶ D. ASHERI, *art. cit.* (n. 22), p. 86-87.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. L. PEARSON, *Timaeus*, p. 38 sqq.

¹⁰⁸ Cited from D.R. KELLEY, *Versions of History from Antiquity to the Enlightenment*, New Haven 1991, p. 434. On the relationship of faith and history in modern historiography, see in general P.E. TILLINGHAST, *The Specious Past: Historians and Others*, Reading (Mass.) 1972, p. 90-106.

And the place he assigns within Sicilian history to individual rulers is, again, inextricably bound up with manifestations of either divine favour or displeasure. The consistency with which Timaeus seems to superimpose this pattern on the events makes it impossible to agree to the view that there was only an occasional and unsystematic correlation of politics and belief in his work. In the same manner do the acknowledged or implicit cross-references from one ruler to another amount to a global and religiously inspired philosophy of history.

To relate politics and belief in the manner just described presupposes on the part of the author, in addition to a genuine belief in the gods, a more or less coherent view of the way in which they intervene in human affairs. To enter the mind of Timaeus — or of any other ancient pagan believer for that matter — may ultimately be impossible for many reasons, even setting aside our particular methodological problems which derive from both the paucity of our information and the decontextualised form in which most of the fragments have been transmitted. But a tentative proposition may be offered.

In my view Timaeus' religious position cannot be adequately explained in terms of sheer backward looking traditionalism. Nor can it be reduced to belief in *Tyche*, the powerful new 'deity' of the Hellenistic period, who works more or less as a blind force, arranging and bringing together elements totally disparate to achieve an unexpected result. I would like to suggest that a more sensitive appreciation can be offered in terms of some combination of tradition and innovation. In spite of Timaeus' apparent adherence to the old creed, there is an all-important point of difference: we have not found any example where the gods of Timaeus would not be acting in accordance with a moral code: in his history, the gods, out of their concern with 'justice' in human society, distribute good and bad fortune to men in response to their behaviour. The gods of Homer do not act in accordance with moral values, but as required by fate¹⁰⁹. Herodotus, who still articulates the same concept (I 91), considers divinity primarily as «envious and disturbing» (I 32). Both views are strikingly absent in the fragments. Nor does our evidence indicate that Timaeus was preoccupied with *Tyche*, a new 'deity' symptomatic of the bankruptcy of the traditional creed. An important clue to

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Naoko YAMAGATA, *Homeric Morality*, Leiden 1993, who presents her study as «a sustained critique» (p. XI) of the two influential works in the field: H. LLOYD-JONES, *The Justice of Zeus*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1971, and A.W.H. ADKINS, *Merit and Responsibility. A Study in Greek Values*, Oxford 1960.

Timaeus' concept of divinity seems to be his opposition to deification of men. He ridiculed the story that Empedocles became a god; and his abuse of Callisthenes for having deified Alexander clearly points in the same direction¹¹⁰. Timaeus seems to have believed in a powerful god, completely different from men. The concept of deity that comes perhaps closest to the religious *and* political ideas expressed in the Σικελικά is the one that emerges from the Isis-Aretalogies. One can imagine how strongly the verse Ἐγὼ τυράννων ἀρχὰς κατέλυσα¹¹¹ must have appealed to the exile of the tyrant Agathocles. Timaeus' endeavour to relate politics and belief in such a direct way as he did looks very much like a fundamentalist response of a sincere believer to the religious anxiety of his age.

B-3220 Holsbeek
Heideweg 15

Guido SCHEPENS
Onderzoekseider N.F.W.O.

¹¹⁰ *FGrHist* 566 F7 and F119a.

¹¹¹ «I have destroyed the mastery of the tyrants». Cf. H.S. VERSNEL, *De tyrannie verdrijven? Een les in historische ambiguïteit*, Leiden 1978, p. 5 en n. 10; ID., *Isis, una quae es omnia. Tyrants against Tyranny: Isis as a Paradigm of Hellenistic Rulership*, in *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion*, I. *Ter Unus*, Leiden 1990, p. 39-95.

P. FAY. 19, HADRIAN'S MEMOIRS,
AND IMPERIAL EPISTOLARY AUTOBIOGRAPHY*

During one of their expeditions in the Fayoum at the turn of this century the Oxford scholars Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth discovered a few hundred papyri — most of them in bad condition — at Ūmm el °Atl, a small village in the northeast corner of the former Arsinoite nome. At first they thought little of their papyrological finds there, but in time the results proved to be very productive after all, both as to content and methodologically¹.

One papyrus is of particular interest to us: the *verso* of a taxing-list contains, in a hand of the end of the second century A.D. at the latest, a text purporting to be a letter of the emperor Hadrian to a 'Dear Antoninus', who can hardly have been anyone else than Hadrian's successor Antoninus Pius.

The papyrus fragment — which is now in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago — measures 22 by 10.3 cm. It is damaged on the left and right sides, so that the beginnings as well as the ends of lines are lost; the size of the lacunae at the beginning can be determined with a fair degree of certainty, whereas the amount of text lost at the end is much harder to estimate. The text consists of twenty lines in all — actually fifteen lines, the first five being repeated at the bottom — and is written in two different hands: the first fifteen lines in a clear cursive, the final five in a large irregular uncial.

[Αὐτοκράτ]ωρ Καῖσαρ Ἀδριανὸς Σε[βαστὸς] Ἀν[τ]ωνίνω [..... τ]ῷ τειμιωτάτῳ χαίρειν. Ὅ[τι ο]ὔτε ἀφ-[
[ρεῖ οὔτ]ε ἀλόγως οὔτε οἰκτρῶς οὔτε ἀπ[ρο]ς]δοκίτῳ[ς]
[οὔτε ἀνοή]τῳς ἀπαλλάσσομαι τοῦ βίου πρὸ παντὸς βού-]

* Whereas nowadays the words 'autobiography' and 'memoirs' have different meanings, no such distinction was made in the Roman republican and imperial ages, simply because it did not exist; therefore, in this paper, both terms will be used as synonyms.

¹ B.P. GRENFELL — A.S. HUNT — D.G. HOGARTH, *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, with a chapter by J.G. MILNE, London 1900 [hereinafter cited as *P. Fay.*]; see especially the introductory notes by Grenfell and Hunt, p. 1-26.

Since October 1993 new systematic excavations of Bakchias are being done by a joint expedition of the universities of Bologna and Lecce; see S. PERNIGOTTI — M. CAPASSO, *Bakchias. Una città del deserto egiziano che torna a vivere. La prima campagna di scavo della Missione archeologica delle Università degli Studi di Bologna e di Lecce nel Fayyum* (Cultura. Collana di Studi "Dall' Antico al Moderno", 2), Napoli 1994.

- 5 [λομαί σε γν]ῶναι, εἰ καὶ παρατυχόντα μοι νοση[λευομένῳ]
[καὶ παρα]μυθούμενον καὶ προτρέποντα δι[ακαρτερεῖν]
[σχεδὸν δόξω ἄ]δικεῖν ὥς εὖρον. Καὶ ἀπὸ τοιοῦ[των οὖν
δρμῶ-]
[μαι τάδε σοι γρά]ψαι οὐ μὰ Δε[ί'] ὥς φ[ο]ρτικὸν λόγ[ο]ν
τεχνάζων παρ[']
[ἀλή]θ[ε]ϊαν, [ἀλλ'] αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπλῆν [τε καὶ]
10 [ἀκριβ]εστάτην μνήμην ποιούμενος ε[.....]
[.....] καὶ ὁ μὲν φύσει πατὴρ γενόμεν[ος ἀσθενῆς]
[τεσσαρά]κοντα βιώσας ἔτη ιδιώτης μετ[ήλλαξεν]
[ὥστε τῷ ἡμ]ιολίῳ πλεον με βιώναι τοῦ πατρό[ς, τῆς]
[δὲ μητρ]ός με σχεδὸν τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικ[ί]αν [ἔχειν γεγонуίας]
15 [ἔξηκοντοῦ]τους· ἔτους δὲ ἔτυχον ἄρτι δεικ[.....]
- 2nd hand [Αὐτοκρ]άτωρ Καῖσαρ Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστ[ὸς Ἀντ]ω-
[νίν]ω τ[ῷ] τιμωτάτῳ χαίρει[ν.] Ὅτι οὐ<τε> ἂω[ρι οὐ]τε
[ἀλόγ]ως οὐτε οἰκτρῶς οὐτε ἀπροσδοκ[ή]τως]
[οὐ]τε ἀ]νοήτως ἀπαλλάσσομε τοῦ βίου προ[.....]
20 [....]ναι εἰ κὲ πα<ρα>τυχόντα μοι νοσηλευο[μένῳ]².

1. [Αὐτοκράτ]ωρ and Σε[βαστὸς]: cf. 16. 2. ὅ[τι οὐ]τε: cf. 17. 3. ἀπ[ρ]οσ[δοκ]ήτ[ω]ς: cf. 18. 4. οὐτε ἀνοήτως and βίου προ...: cf. 19. 4-5. F. BÜCHELER, *loc. cit.*, p. 327, conjectures: προ[ειλόμε]ν σοι | [λόγον διδ]όναι. 5. νοση[λευομένῳ]: cf. 20; νοση[λεύοντα] is also possible. 6. W. CLARYSSE suggests δι[ακαρτερεῖν]; in all other editions (see n. 2) δι[αναπαύεσθαι] is conjectured. 7-8. F. BÜCHELER, *loc. cit.*, p. 327, conjectures: ἀπὸ τοιοῦ[των σοι] | [περὶ ἑμ]αυτοῦ γρά]ψαι. 8. οὐ μὰ Δε[ί']: after μα there are some ink spots that may be accidental, but οὐμαι δὲ ὥς is equally possible. 12. [τεσσαρά]κοντα: cf. *infra* p. 3; ιδιώτης: on the papyrus is written ἰδιωτης. 15. the word before δὲ is apparently not εὐ[θ]ύς; perhaps ἔτους should be read; the line is completed by F. BÜCHELER, *loc. cit.*, p. 327, as follows: δεικ[νύσης τῆς ὑπάτων] | [ἀναγραφῆς ἔξηκο]στοῦ τρίτου... 16-17. [Ἀντωνίν]ω: cf. 1. 19. ἀπαλλάσσομε: l. ἀπαλλάσσομαι. 20. εἰ κὲ: l. εἰ καὶ.

Imperator Caesar Hadrianus Augustus to his highly-esteemed Antoninus, greeting. Above all I would like you to know that I am being released from life neither untimely nor unreasonably, pitifully, unexpectedly or with faculties impaired, though — as I have perceived — I

² The papyrus was first edited by Grenfell and Hunt as *P. Fay.* 19 (p. 112-116). The present version of the text is basically that offered by P.J. ALEXANDER, *Letters and Speeches of the Emperor Hadrian*, *HSPh* 49 (1938), p. 170 n. 1, who mainly follows W. CROENERT, *Litterarische Texte mit Ausschluß der christlichen*, *APF* 2 (1903), p. 364. A different restoration was suggested by F. BÜCHELER, *Coniectanea*, *RhM* 56 (1901), p. 326-327; this was accepted by F. PREISIGKE, *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten* I, Berlin-Leipzig 1922, p. 128, and S. PERGINOTTI — M. CAPASSO, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 35-38.

thus may appear to do you wrong, you who sits at my bedside, never ceases to comfort me and urges me to hold on. Consequently I feel compelled to write you the following, not, by Zeus, to cunningly paint some vulgar picture stretching the truth, but to give a straightforward and accurate account of the facts themselves (...)

My natural father was taken ill and died as a private citizen at forty, hence I have survived him by more than half his age; I have approximately reached the same age as my mother, who lived to be sixty. I am presently in my [sixty-third] year ...

The informed reader is immediately struck by the correlation between the theme of the papyrus text and the contents of the famous little poem that Hadrian supposedly wrote on his deathbed:

Animula vagula blandula
hospes comesque corporis,
quae nunc abibis in loca
pallidula rigida nudula?
nec ut soles dabis iocos!³

In these few lines the emperor put his final agony into perspective. This very same attitude towards death, though not the same irony, pervades the papyrus text.

Without necessarily associating the two texts closely with one another most scholars have so far opined that in the letter Hadrian was speaking solely of his imminent death: this, then, would be a unique confidential epistle from Antiquity in which an emperor expressed his innermost feelings⁴.

³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae (HA)*, Hadr. 25.9; see I. MARIOTTI, *Animula vagula blandula*, in *Studia Florentina Alexandro Ronconi sexagenario oblata*, Rome 1970, p. 233-249; J.-M. ANDRÉ, *Hadrien littérateur et protecteur des lettres*, in *ANRW II* 34.1, Berlin-New York 1993, p. 583-611, esp. 603 with n. 183 and 606-607 (with further bibliography).

⁴ See J.G. WINTER, *Life and Letters in the Papyri (The Jerome Lectures)*, Ann Arbor 1933, p. 19; P.J. ALEXANDER, *loc. cit.*, p. 170-172; H. BARDON, *Les empereurs et les lettres latines d'Auguste à Hadrien (Collection d'études anciennes)*, Paris 1940, p. 411; J. CARCOPINO, *L'hérédité dynastique chez les Antonins*, *REA* 51 (1949), p. 305 (= *id.*, *Pasion et politique chez les Césars*, Paris 1958, p. 199-200); J.-M. ANDRÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 596; S. PERNIGOTTI – M. CAPASSO, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 37-38. In any event, *P. Fay.* 19 is not to be identified with the letter mentioned by Cassius Dio, LXIX 17, in which Hadrian allegedly hinted his grief at desiring to die yet not being able to do so, for the papyrus exudes resignation, even relief, with death finally approaching; see, however, F.G. MILLAR, *A Study of Cassius Dio*, Oxford 1964, p. 37 and 70. It is not exactly clear what J.-M. ANDRÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 596 n. 123, means in this respect by saying «texte (i.e. *P. Fay.* 19) à rapprocher de Dion Cassius, *Hist. rom.* LXIX 17.2-3».

This assumption, however, passes over the nonetheless explicit (and on the papyrus clearly legible) announcement αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων (...) μνήμην ποιούμενος (l. 9-10): it is obvious that in this context μνήμη must be taken to mean ‘memorial, record’⁵. No more than a few scholars have on this basis put forward the more plausible suggestion that the first lines were only intended as an introduction to the subject proper of the text: in their view Hadrian’s reflections on his imminent decease set the scene for an autobiographical account in which the emperor would describe his life that was drawing near its end⁶.

This interpretation would imply that only a small part — the beginning — of an originally much more elaborate document has been preserved. This is perfectly consistent with the text on the papyrus: it breaks off abruptly after fifteen lines, whereupon the first five lines are repeated. The total length of the original text is beyond all conjecture, so a comprehensive composition — *in casu* an autobiographical letter — cannot be ruled out as a possibility.

The question that arises is a double one: whether the text can genuinely have been written by Hadrian, and whether the Roman emperors practised the genre of the autobiographical letter.

Starting from the data provided by the letter itself there is no reason to doubt its authenticity.

The original editors of the papyrus already pointed out that the *contents* of the letter are consistent with established facts of Hadrian’s life⁷. What we learn about Hadrian’s father accords with what little we know of that shadowy figure. P. Aelius Hadrianus Afer is said to have died when his son was barely ten years old⁸, which is not unlikely for a man of forty. The statement that he died an ἰδιώτης does not disagree with the fact that he sat in the senate as a *praetorius*⁹: this may be taken to mean that, unlike his son, he was no emperor. Hadrian himself died at the age of 62 after suffering a painful chronic disease; reportedly he tried repeatedly to take his own life, but was restrained from doing so by

⁵ See *LSJ*, s.v. μνήμη.

⁶ The first editors already pointed out this possibility: B.P. GRENFELL – A.S. HUNT, *P. Fay.*, p. 114; see also W. CROENERT, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 364.

⁷ B.P. GRENFELL – A.S. HUNT, *P. Fay.*, p. 114-115; cf. P.J. ALEXANDER, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 170-171. As for Hadrian’s mother, Domitia Paulina, we know only that she was from Gades and that her name indicates that she descended from a Romanized family (cf. *HA, Hadr.* 1.2). From the papyrus it can be inferred that she lived to about sixty.

⁸ *HA, Hadr.* 1. 4: *decimo aetatis anno pater orbatus*.

⁹ Cassius Dio LXIX 3: βουλευτῆς ἐστρατηγηκώς.

Antoninus¹⁰. We also come across this notion that the sick emperor was assiduously tended by his adopted son and counsellor in lines 5-7 of the papyrus. Finally, shortly before he died Hadrian retired to Baiae, while his successor stayed in Rome to attend to day-to-day administration¹¹; the letter we have before us might date from this period, when the two men were staying in different places.

At the same time the text offers unmistakable evidence of Hadrian's personal *style of writing*: the way the sentences are given rhythm by playing with sounds (cf. the *homoiooteleuta* in lines 3-4) and by repeating equivalent elements (cf. lines 2-4 and 5-6) — all this punctuated by the use of polysyndeta — as well as the symmetrical construction (cf. lines 11-14: ὁ μὲν φύσει πατήρ ... τῆς [δὲ μητρ]ός) are rhetorical stylistic devices typical of the second sophistic movement that Hadrian was familiar with, as can be learned from his other writings — not in the least the poem quoted above, where we also find evidence of his contrived choice of words, here exemplified by the use of νοσηλεύω¹².

Conversely, these facts obviously offer no sufficient ground for accepting the letter right away as a genuine composition of the emperor himself: the possibility that we are dealing with a fictitious, yet carefully drafted text remains real. The context in which the letter has survived — a school exercise — might actually arouse suspicion in that sense: a letter from the dying emperor Hadrian to his self-appointed successor Antoninus would surely make an ideal subject for a composition or a rhetorical exercise¹³.

This line of reasoning, however, cuts no ice, for the papyrus has preserved not an exercise in composition, but a writing exercise: a first hand, clearly that of a teacher, has written a model (not impeccable, for that matter); a second hand (that of a pupil) then copied the text, making

¹⁰ The *taedium vitae* of the emperor turns up several times in our literary sources: Cassius Dio LXIX 17 (the letter mentioned above in n. 4) and 22; *HA, Hadr.* 24.8-13, where the active part played by Antoninus is recorded.

¹¹ *HA, Hadr.* 25.5-7: *Post haec Hadrianus Baías petiit Antonino Romae ad imperandum relicto.*

¹² H. BARDON, *Empereurs* (n. 4), p. 411, and compare p. 397, 400, 402, 404-405, 407-408, 419; cf. J.-M. ANDRÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 3), *passim*.

¹³ B.P. GRENFELL – A.S. HUNT, *P. Fay.*, p. 115, already remarked that this was one of the objections that could possibly be lodged against the authenticity of the letter. In particular the artificial comparison of Hadrian's own age with that of his parents could point in that direction; cf. P.J. ALEXANDER, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 171.

even more mistakes¹⁴. What is more, the phrase ὥς εὔροιν could seemingly only have been thought up by Hadrian himself: in a few personal words the situation at the imperial court — the emperor's *taedium vitae*, his attempted suicides and Antoninus' intervention — is accurately summarized in a way that no outsider could manage¹⁵.

The elements adduced, admittedly, have no indisputable evidential value, but they nevertheless contain a serious indication that we might be dealing with a genuine letter by Hadrian — the more so in view of the great antiquity of the papyrus, which was written well within a century of Hadrian's death. This brings us to the second question we have posed: whether it is conceivable that a Roman emperor wrote an autobiographical letter, let alone a fully-fledged autobiography.

In modern times memoirs of statesmen are a quite recent phenomenon, only introduced around the period of the French Revolution and Napoleon. Over the preceding centuries, sovereigns did not reach for their own quill, but appealed to that of others to make known to contemporaries and future generations alike the grandeur of their government and of their own person. Famous, in this sense, are the words Louis XIV addressed to his biographers:

«Vous pouvez, Messieurs, juger de l'estime que je fais de vous, puisque je vous confie la chose du monde qui m'est la plus précieuse, qui est ma gloire (...) je tâcherai de ma part de vous fournir de la matière qui mérite d'être mise en œuvre par des gens aussi habiles que vous êtes»¹⁶.

In ancient Rome, however, the last century of the Republic saw the advent of autobiographical writings in Roman political life. Of course the augmentation of personal honour and glory was also a major concern of the Roman autobiographers, but another objective was of notable importance as well: from the end of the second century B.C. — when the relations between the various *factiones* in Roman politics became increasingly strained — several prominent personalities tried to justify

¹⁴ This was first suggested by B.P. GRENFELL – A.S. HUNT, *P. Fay.*, p. 113; it met with the approval of W. CROENERT, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 364, and P.J. ALEXANDER, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 171. One might — in desperation — object that the model could have been composed by the teacher himself (or the author of some text-book) and then presented to the pupil. In that case, however, the text could be expected to form a complete whole and not to break off in mid-sentence, as it does in line 15.

¹⁵ See P.J. ALEXANDER, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 171.

¹⁶ P. LACROIX, *Mémoires de Ch. Perrault, précédés d'une notice (Les petits chefs-d'œuvre)*, Paris 1878, p. 26-27; cf. M. DURRY, *art. cit.* (n. 18), p. 219.

their programme and their behaviour by issuing autobiographical writings that had a distinctly polemical and propagandist character¹⁷.

This tradition persisted in the imperial age. In imitation of the leading figures of the late Republic most emperors of the first and second centuries A.D. were, in addition to their administrative and military duties, active in the literary field¹⁸. One of the genres they practised was autobiography¹⁹. It may appear paradoxical that the almighty leaders of the *Imperium Romanum* worried about the legitimacy of their position, yet several emperors — from Augustus up to and including Hadrian — put together a survey of (parts of) their life²⁰. All these writings not only

¹⁷ See G. MISCH, *Geschichte der Autobiographie I. Das Altertum*, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main 1949³, p. 215-265; R.G. LEWIS, *Imperial Autobiography, Augustus to Hadrian*, in *ANRW II* 34.1, Berlin–New York 1993, p. 629-706, esp. 658-669.

¹⁸ On the literary activity of the Roman emperors see H. BARDON, *Empereurs* (n. 4); ID., *La littérature latine inconnue II. L'époque impériale*, Paris 1956; M. DURRY, *Les empereurs comme historiens d'Auguste à Hadrien*, in *Histoire et historiens dans l'Antiquité (Entretiens Fondation Hardt, 4)*, Vandœuvres–Genève 1956, p. 215-245; O.A.W. DILKE, *The Literary Output of the Roman Emperors*, *G&R* n.s. 4 (1957), p. 78-97. For the remaining fragments of imperial writings see H. PETER (ed.), *Historicorum Romanorum reliquiae (HRR)* II, Leipzig 1906 (= Stuttgart 1967). For more general considerations see J.-M. ANDRÉ, *L'Otium dans la vie morale et intellectuelle romaine, des origines à l'époque augustéenne*, Paris 1966, esp. 531sq.

All in all one cannot escape the impression that most *imperatores* did not surpass the level of the dilettante: ancient and modern authors alike have been condescending about the literary qualities of their 'scribblings' (see e.g. O.A.W. DILKE, *art. cit.*, p. 97).

¹⁹ The standard work on this subject is still G. MISCH, *Geschichte der Autobiographie*, 4 volumes in 8 parts, Frankfurt am Main 1949³-1969. For a survey of the available literature on the autobiographical genre in general see W.C. SPENGEMANN, *The Forms of Autobiography. Episodes in the History of a Literary Genre*, New Haven–London 1980, p. 170-245 ('The Study of Autobiography: A Bibliographical Essay'). On autobiography in Antiquity see U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, *Die Autobiographie im Altertum*, in *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik* 1 (1907), p. 1105-1114; G. FUNAIOLI, *L'autobiografia nell' antichità*, *A&R* 9 (1908), p. 332-346; A.M. CLARK, *Autobiography. Its Genesis and Phases*, Edinburgh 1935; J.W. THOMPSON, *Lost Memoirs of Antiquity*, in ID., *Byways in Bookland*, Berkeley 1935, p. 163-179; G. MISCH, *op. cit.* I: *Das Altertum*, 2 vol., Frankfurt am Main 1949-1950³; J. ENGELS, *Die Ὑπομνήματα-Schriften und die Anfänge der politischen Biographie und Autobiographie in der griechischen Literatur*, *ZPE* 96 (1993), p. 19-36.

²⁰ On the one hand there are autobiographies covering an entire life (that is to say, up to the time of writing): thus Augustus (his autobiography *Cantabrico tenus bello, nec ultra* and the *Res Gestae*), Tiberius (*commentarius de vita sua*), Claudius (*de vita sua*) and Hadrian (no title known). On the other hand two emperors wrote memoirs on the occasion of a specific military campaign: Vespasian (*commentarius de bello Iudaico*, possibly co-written by Titus) and Trajan (*Dacica*). Caesar's *Commentarii* can also be mentioned in this context, although he admittedly was not yet a true 'caesar'. After Hadrian only a few more emperors published memoirs. Marcus Aurelius deserves special mention in this respect: with his *Εἰς ἑαυτὸν* he occupies an important place in the whole of ancient autobiographical literature.

shared a commemorative purpose (to secure the author's place in history), but also served to prove — against existing and/or potential opposition — that the emperor in power was *capax imperii*²¹.

The role played by Augustus in this tradition is undeniable: it is beyond doubt that he set the example that most emperors after him followed²². After the turbulent years in which the Republic was transformed into the principate and at the end of his eventful career Augustus had much to account for (his — to put it mildly — irregular *cursus honorum*, the eliminating of his political adversaries, his exceptional position of power), and he conducted his own defence in two autobiographical writings: a 'proper' autobiography probably written circa 25 B.C. — i.e. shortly after he was granted the title *Augustus* — and the *Res Gestae*, his political testament.

The *apologia* he offered in these writings concerned not only the acquisition and retention of power, but also its transmission²³. Augustus realized all too well that the stability and continuity of a monarchic regime — especially one that had only recently been established and had still to meet all expectations — were considerably strengthened by an unchallenged heir²⁴. It is well-known that, for want of natural male offspring, the *princeps* made various arrangements regarding his succession²⁵. His writ-

In the imperial age the writing of an autobiography was almost the sole prerogative of the emperor, which is not all that surprising given the political explosiveness of the genre. Only a handful of exemplars by non-imperial figures are known: M. Vipsanius Agrippa's *de vita sua*, Agrippina the Younger's *de vita sua et casibus suorum* and the *commentarii* written by C. Suetonius Paulinus and Cn. Domitius Corbulo.

The most recent treatment of this subject is the profound article of R.G. LEWIS (with bibliography on p. 629-630 n. 1) cited above in n. 17; see also G. MISCH, *op. cit.* I 1, p. 266-298. For the remaining fragments of all these writings see H. PETER, *HRR* II (cf. *index*).

²¹ Not only in this sense, but formally as well imperial autobiographical writings were in keeping with republican models: see M. DURRY, *art. cit.* (n. 18), p. 239-241 ("discussion"); R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), *passim*.

²² Of course Augustus for his part based himself on the (style of the) autobiographical writings before him, but he fully appropriated the genre and adapted it to the new, monarchic type of government; see R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 669-689, for a thorough analysis of Augustus' autobiography *Cantabrico tenus bello, nec ultra*.

²³ Cf. R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 706.

²⁴ H. NESSELHAUF, *Die Adoption des römischen Kaisers*, *Hermes* 83 (1955), p. 485; R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 477-495, esp. 687-688. Furthermore, a good relationship based on trust with the military leaders was of course equally indispensable.

²⁵ It is common knowledge that he was thoroughly thwarted by fate in these endeavours (cf. Suet., *Tib.* 23). For a detailed account of the toilsome settlement of Augustus' succession see R. SYME, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford 1952² (= 1966), p. 341, 415-439.

ing and publishing of an autobiography around 25 B.C. might have had something to do with the betrothal of his daughter Julia to M. Marcellus, who at that time was destined to inherit the throne: it was Augustus' intention with his autobiography to pave the way for his son-in-law and to anticipate potential criticism (e.g. of Marcellus' youthful age)²⁶.

The question of the succession continued to be a crucial issue in most imperial autobiographies, for the tenure of the imperial office was to a large extent legitimized by the authority (and, from Nerva on, by the explicit choice) of the — after death deified — predecessor.

De iure the senate was authorized to autonomously inaugurate as emperor the person it considered to be the *optimus civis*, and formally the definitive ratification continued to rest with the senate (which voted the *lex de imperio*), but from the very beginning the incumbent emperors interfered with their own succession. The pre-eminent way to manipulate the senate's choice was to pursue a dynastic policy.

The emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty pushed forward as successors their (natural or adopted) sons: since by descent they had flowing through their veins the same *sanguis caelestis* as the divine founder of the principate (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* IV 52), and since they were as such members of a family that had been chosen by the gods and vested with supreme power by divine consent, there could of course be no doubt about the validity of their candidacy. The Flavian emperors arranged their succession in the same manner.

From Nerva on, and at least outwardly, there was a shift of accent: whereas earlier family ties prevailed, henceforth emphasis was laid on the selection of the 'best citizen'. The reason behind this was that the conscious 'election' of the emperor from among *all* outstanding citizens of the empire, reckoning with the candidates' capacities and *res gestae*, safeguarded a beneficial government, as opposed to the choice of nature or, rather, mere chance in the case of hereditary succession (cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* I 14-15; Pliny, *Paneg.* 6-9, especially 7.4-6; Cassius Dio LXIX 20.2-4). Again the emperors had the final say over the matter by adopting the man of their choice: the senate was only left to confirm the imperial preference. What is more, modern research has shown that behind this ideological façade consanguinity continued to play an

²⁶ See R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 687-688.

important role among the Antonines when it came to designating a successor²⁷.

So, we find that the exercise of imperial power was, to a great extent, owed to the predecessor's approval. Consequently, for one thing it was important to clearly demonstrate that a legitimate tie with the previous emperor existed²⁸. For another, the emperor in power was in turn able to lend support to his successor's cause, among other things by conspicuously bringing him into the limelight in his memoirs²⁹. Of course the *vir-*

²⁷ For interesting observations on adoption as a political weapon of the Roman emperors see M.H. PRÉVOST, *Les adoptions politiques à Rome sous la République et le Principat* (Publications de l'Institut de Droit romain de l'Université de Paris, 5), Paris 1949; Ch. WIRSZUBSKI, *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome during the Late Republic and Early Principate* (Cambridge Classical Studies), Cambridge 1950 (= 1968), p. 154-158; H. NESSELHAUF, *art. cit.* (n. 24), esp. p. 482-486). More general studies of the investiture and the various successions in the imperial period are L. WICKERT, *art. Princeps*, in *RE* XXII (1954), col. 1998-2296, esp. 2137-2222 (ch. VIII C, "Soziologie des monarchischen Principats"); Blanche PARSI, *Désignation et investiture de l'empereur romain (Ier et IIe siècles après J.-C.)* (Publications de l'Institut de Droit romain de l'Université de Paris, 22), Paris 1963 (the basic treatment of the subject, with all references to older literature); L. WICKERT, *Neue Forschungen zum römischen Principat*, in *ANRW* II 2, Berlin-New York 1974, p. 3-76 (*addenda et corrigenda* to his *RE*-article; see esp. p. 42-59). On the dynastic policy already pursued by the first Antonines see R.M. GEER, *Second Thoughts on the Imperial Succession from Nerva to Commodus*, *TAPhA* 67 (1936), p. 47-54; J. CARCOPINO, *L'hérédité dynastique* (n. 4) [paper was later reprinted in its entirety in *Passion et politique chez les Césars*, p. 143-222, as chapter V: "Le bâtarde d'Hadrien et l'hérédité dynastique chez les Antonins" (with some additions on p. 183-186 and 218-219)]; Hildegard TEMPORINI, *Die Frauen am Hofe Trajans. Ein Beitrag zur Stellung der Augustae im Principat*, Berlin-New York 1978, p. 134-142 (with further references; another work on the subject announced by this author — *Historische und archäologische Untersuchungen zu den Nachfolgeregelungen im Principat* — apparently never saw the light of day).

²⁸ In this respect it must have mattered very much to Augustus and Hadrian to prove through their own merits that their — in both cases controversial! — adoptions by Julius Caesar and Trajan, respectively, were justified; cf. R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 674-677 (on Caesar and Augustus), p. 699-700 (on Trajan and Hadrian).

²⁹ The dynastic motivation for issuing memoirs is most striking in the case of Vespasian's *commentarius de bello Iudaico*. Vespasian's intention to have his elder son Titus succeed him met with vehement opposition. The best retort was to lay special emphasis on Titus' contribution to the final triumph in the Jewish War (A.D. 67-70): through his indefatigable fighting for many years on end beside, and ultimately in the place of his father, Titus had given plenty of evidence of the fact that no one was more *capax imperii* than he; cf. H. BARDON, *Littérature* (n. 18), p. 209-210; R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 640-642. It is striking that the emperors who made no or no clear arrangements for their succession (Caligula, Nero, Domitianus) also did not write an autobiography; even Trajan, who officially adopted Hadrian on his deathbed at the earliest (if at all; cf. *infra* p. 291 and n. 41), only wrote *Dacica*, not a fully-fledged autobiography in which space was devoted to his *apologia* and the introduction of his successor (in this context exception should be made of Otho, Galba, Vitellius and Nerva who, through their untimely

tus and *dignitas* of the person in question (exemplified by his own *res gestae*) retained their particular value as confirmation of the latter's *capacitas imperii* as well³⁰.

A salient feature of the political memoirs from the late Republic and the imperial age is that they were written in many various forms³¹. Some of them approximated epistolography in that, just like a letter, they were directed to a specific addressee.

As is well-known, the genre of the literary letter already existed in Antiquity. One of the formats that can be discerned is that of an exposé displaying certain features of a 'real' letter (e.g. the greeting and the signature) but being for the rest a plain argument³². Epistolary autobiography presumably has to be understood in this sense³³.

death, simply did not have the opportunity to write their memoirs); see R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 703-706.

³⁰ The combination of these two aspects is beautifully illustrated in *P. Giss.* 3. This papyrus dates from shortly after October 117 and is closely connected with Trajan's apotheosis and Hadrian's accession: it contains part of a text written especially for a performance staged in Heptakomia (the metropolis of the Apollonopolite nome in Egypt) on the occasion of the inauguration of the new emperor. The following words are put in Phoebus Apollo's mouth: Ἀρματι λευκοπόλῳι ἄρτι Τραιαν[ῳ] | συνανατείλας ἤκω σοι, ὦ Δῆμ[ε], | οὐκ ἄγνωστος Φοῖβος θεὸς ἄνακτα καινὸν Ἀδριανὸν ἀγγελῶ[ν], | ὅτι πάντα δοῦλα [δὲ] ἄρετῇ κ[αὶ] πατρὸς τύχῃν θεοῦ. On this papyrus see U. WILCKEN, in L. MITTEIS – U. WILCKEN, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, I. *Historischer Teil*, 2: *Chrestomathie*, Leipzig–Berlin 1912, no. 491, p. 571; P.J. ALEXANDER, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 143-144 with n. 1 (with reference to older literature); W. DEN BOER, *Trajan's Deification and Hadrian's Succession*, *AncSoc* 6 (1975), p. 203-212.

³¹ See R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 632-633.

³² See F.X.J. EXLER, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter of the Epistolary Papyri (3rd c. B.C.–3rd c. A.D.)*. A Study in Greek Epistolography, Washington 1923 (= Chicago 1976), esp. p. 17. See also H. PETER, *Der Brief in der römischen Litteratur. Literaturgeschichtliche Untersuchungen und Zusammenfassungen (Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, XX 3)*, Leipzig 1901 (= Hildesheim 1965), esp. p. 213-216, 242-249; J. SYKUTRIS, *art. Epistolographie*, in *RE Suppl.* V (1931), col. 185-220, esp. 200-202; H. KOSKENNIEMI, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n.Chr.* (*Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, Ser. B 102.2), Helsinki 1956, esp. p. 12-15, 50-53, 88-91.

³³ The origin of this tradition may be tentatively connected with the open letters (nominally addressed to foreign kings) that two members of the Scipio-clan published in the first half of the second century B.C. and with a political pamphlet by C. Gracchus that was moulded on a letter: ca. 190 B.C. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus wrote an epistle to king Philip V of Macedon in which he described his *res gestae* and the *consilia* that inspired them (cf. Polybius X 6-9 = *FGrHist* 232 F1); P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum related his heroic part in the victory in the battle of Pydna in a brief notice addressed to «one of the kings» (cf. Plutarch, *Aem. Paull.* 15-16 = *FGrHist* 233 F1); in a 'letter' to a friend in Rome, M. Pomponius, Caius Gracchus discussed his elder brother Tiberius' motives behind his revolutionary plans for social reform, besides narrating several (auto)biographical facts (cf. Plutarch, *T. Gracch.* 8). See G. MISCH, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 241-

The variation of political autobiography moulded on the epistolary pattern apparently existed right from the inception of the genre (that is to say, from the end of the second century B.C., as noted above): M. Aemilius Scaurus, the *consularis* who is considered to be the originator of Roman autobiographical literature, addressed his *De vita sua* to a L. Fufidius³⁴. His most illustrious imitators were Sulla and Augustus: the former addressed his twenty-two books *De vita sua* to his lieutenant L. Lucullus³⁵, the latter his autobiography from the twenties to Agrippa and Maecenas³⁶.

This procedure was inspired by the Greek principle that no prominent man should ever sing his own praises. One way of getting around this rule was to present one's autobiography as a rough draft that still required stylistic polishing; to this end it was 'sent' to a literator friend (an epic poet or historiographer) who was expected to incorporate the material offered him in a historical work — preferably of a similar apologetic and encomiastic purport³⁷.

The known examples of epistolary autobiographies, however, prove that this reasoning was not always the basic assumption. Of some addressees it is indeed inconceivable that they served as water-carriers and had to take care of the final editing. The reason why they were picked was that they were people with considerable power and influence or who enjoyed a good reputation, thus providing surety, so to speak, for

243; J. ENGELS, *art. cit.* (n. 19), p. 33; R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 634-635, 660 n. 101.

³⁴ Cicero, *Brutus* 29.112: *tres ad L. Fufidium libri scripti de vita ipsius acta sane utiles, quos nemo legit ...*; see R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 662.

³⁵ Plutarch, *Luc.* 1.4: ὥστε καὶ Σύλλας τὰς αὐτοῦ πράξεις ἀναγράφων ἐκείνῳ (scil. Λουκούλλῳ) προσεφώνησεν ὡς συνταξομένῳ καὶ διαθήσονται τὴν ἱστορίαν ἄμεινον; see R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 665.

³⁶ Plutarch, *Comp. Cic.-Dem.* 3.1: ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ (scil. ὁ νέος) ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν καὶ Μαικῆναν ὑπομνήμασιν εἴρηκεν; cf. R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 669. Other examples include the *Liber de consulatu et rebus gestis suis* of Q. Lutatius Catulus, addressed to his friend and poet A. Furius (Cicero, *Brutus* 35.132), both Cicero's open letter to Pompeius and his *Commentarius consulatus mei Graece conscriptus*, dedicated to Posidonius (*ad Fam.* V 7; *pro Sulla* 67; *Schol. Bob. ad pro Cnaeo Plancio* 34.85 and *ad Att.* I 16.18; 19.10; 20.6; II 1.1-2, 15, respectively), and Caesar's letter to the Senate of 50 B.C. in which he gave an account of his life and his services to the State (Appian, Ἐμφύλια II 32, 127-128; Cassius Dio XLI 1; Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* I 1.1).

³⁷ See G. MISCH, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 247-248; R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 634-636, 665. Caesar's *Commentarii* were also *editi, ne scientia tantarum rerum scriptoribus deesset* (Hirtius, *Bell. Gall.* VIII, *Praefatio*) — albeit without a specific addressee in mind; cf. Cicero, *Brutus* 75.262: *Sed dum voluit alios habere parata, unde sumerent qui vellent scribere historiam.*

the contents. In this way the autobiography got an added value: the addressee's authority reinforced its credibility. This thought must have been at the back of M. Aemilius Scaurus' mind when he dedicated his *De vita sua* to L. Fufidius, who in his time was regarded as a paragon of sincerity³⁸. Likewise Augustus published his 'first' autobiography under his own name, but dedicated it to influential associates (*i.c.* Agrippa and Maecenas) who in that way lent weight to the *apologia*³⁹. From this angle the addressee's identity was obviously highly important: he was the flag covering the cargo. The choice of the right man was accordingly made very deliberately.

It has already been mentioned in passing that Hadrian was one of the Roman emperors who wrote an autobiography⁴⁰. In keeping with the foregoing this need not surprise: he had plenty of issues that called for further comment.

First of all, there were a number of hotly debated points concerning his person and his government: Trajan's adoption of him, which — according to our literary sources — was contested from early on and the full facts of which will probably remain an *arcanum imperii* forever⁴¹; his renunciation of the expansionist policy that Trajan had so vigorously pursued in the East⁴²; a few killings and suicides that lent the beginning

³⁸ See R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 662.

³⁹ See R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 669, 687-688.

⁴⁰ It is explicitly quoted in literary sources a handful of times: Cassius Dio LXVI 17.1, LXIX 11.23; *HA, Hadr.* 1.1, 3.2 and 4, 7.2 (see H. PETER, *HRR* II, p. CLXXVI-CLXXVIII, 117-118). There is also a *testimonium* in *HA, Sev.* 1.6.

⁴¹ Compare the controversial opening of (the epitome of) Cassius Dio's book LXIX: 'Ἀδριανὸς δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Τραϊανοῦ οὐκ ἐσεποιήθη (reported by Cassius Dio on the authority of his father); *HA, Hadr.* 4.5, 8-10; Aurelius Victor, *Caes.* XIII 11-13; Eutropius VIII 6. On this matter much has been written; however, there is hardly more to be gleaned from the available material than what R. SYME, *Tacitus* I, Oxford 1963², p. 233-235, 240-241, has said. See also Hildegard TEMPORINI, *op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 120-159 (with a survey of the literature on this issue on p. 151-159). It should be stressed, however, that a tenor hostile to Hadrian has influenced our literary sources. P. VON ROHDEN, *art. Aelius* (64), in *RE* I 1 (1893), col. 494, already observed that Cassius Dio (and also the author of the *vita Hadriani* in the *HA*) used «dem Hadrian ungünstige Quellen»; cf. F.G. MILLAR, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 60-72 *passim*; S.A. STERTZ, *Semper in omnibus varius: The Emperor Hadrian and the Intellectuals*, in *ANRW* II 34.1, Berlin-New York 1993, p. 612-628, esp. 613-614; R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 700.

⁴² Cf. *infra* p. 297 with n. 67; see D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ*, Princeton 1950, I, p. 611-629; II, p. 1469-1490; M. ROSTOVITZ, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1963³ (= 1966), p. 362-363 with n. 10; M.K. THORNTON, *Hadrian and his Reign*, in *ANRW* II 2, Berlin-New York 1975, p. 432-476, esp. 435.

and end of his government a bloody colour⁴³; the mysterious death by drowning of his favourite Antinoüs, which must have appealed to the general public's imagination⁴⁴.

Secondly, Hadrian carried out a reconstruction of the army⁴⁵ and implemented a number of social, administrative and legal reforms during his period of office⁴⁶.

⁴³ Shortly after Hadrian's accession four *consulares* were said to have hatched a plot against the new emperor (Cassius Dio LXIX 2.5, 23.2). The conspiracy was nipped in the bud and the 'gang of four' was executed. For the remainder of his regime Hadrian would be accused of having personally given the order for the executions. In his autobiography he tried to parry these allegations, as is evidenced by the following (patently apologetic) fragment: *Palma Tarracinis, Celsus Baiis, Nigrinus Faventiae, Lusius in itinere senatu iubente, invito Hadriano, ut ipse in vita sua dicit, occisi sunt* (HA, Hadr. 7.1-2; cf. 9.3; Cassius Dio LXIX 2.5-6). On this — fabricated or otherwise — intrigue see A. VON PREMERSTEIN, *Das Attentat der Konsulare auf Hadrian im Jahre 118* (Klio, Beiheft 8), Leipzig 1908 [with additions in ID., *C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus. Klient des jüngeren Plinius und General Trajans* (SBAW, 3), München 1934, p. 38-46]; B.W. HENDERSON, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, London 1923, p. 47-50; R. SYME, *Hadrian's Autobiography: Servianus and Sura*, in K. ROSEN (ed.), *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1986-1989* (Antiquitas, Reihe 4: Beiträge zur Historia-Augusta-Forschung, 21), Bonn 1991, p. 189-200, esp. 189-192. At the end of his life (in A.D. 136) Hadrian supposedly forced his ninety-year-old brother-in-law Julius Servianus and the latter's grandson Fuscus to commit suicide because he could not bear the thought of them surviving and possibly succeeding him and because they did not agree with his choice of adopted son (Cassius Dio LXIX 2.6, 17.1-2; HA, Hadr. 15.8, 23.2-3, 8-9, 25.8-9). See M.K. THORNTON, *art. cit.* (n. 42), p. 438-439; E. CHAMPLIN, *Hadrian's Heir*, ZPE 21 (1976), p. 70-89; R. SYME, *Ummidius Quadratus, capax imperii*, HSPh 83 (1979), p. 287-310 (= ID., *Roman Papers* III, Oxford 1984, p. 1158-1178).

⁴⁴ Very soon a persistent rumour circulated that Antinoüs had not drowned by accident, but had sacrificed himself or had been offered for the benefit of Hadrian in order to fulfil a prophecy; it was also rumoured that Hadrian had had a homosexual affair with the youth (Cassius Dio LXIX 11.2-4; HA, Hadr. 14.5-6). See W. WEBER, *Drei Untersuchungen zu ägyptisch-griechischer Religion*, Heidelberg 1911; W. DEN BOER, *Religion and Literature in Hadrian's Policy*, Mnemosyne Ser. IV, 8 (1955), p. 133-137.

⁴⁵ See R.H. LACEY, *The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian. Their Careers, with some Notes on Hadrian's Reforms*, Princeton, 1917; A. STEIN, *Der römische Ritterstand. Ein Beitrag zur Sozial- und Personengeschichte des römischen Reiches* (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, 10), München 1927 (= 1963), p. 446-448; M. ROSTOVITZEFF, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 363 with n. 11; W. WEBER, *Hadrian*, in CAH XI, Cambridge 1965³ (= 1969), p. 310-312; M.K. THORNTON, *art. cit.* (n. 42), p. 453-454.

⁴⁶ In this respect his policy of treating the provinces as equal constituents of the Empire (incorporating his agricultural politics, town and country planning and tax-measures), the establishment of the *edictum praetorium* in the *edictum perpetuum* and the reorganization of the *consilium principis* deserve special mention; see F. PRINGSHEIM, *The Legal Policy and Reforms of Hadrian*, JRS 24 (1934), p. 141-153; B. D'ORGEVAL, *L'empereur Hadrien. Œuvre législative et administrative*, Paris 1950; M. ROSTOVITZEFF, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 362-371 and *passim* (cf. *index*); W. WEBER, *Hadrian* (n. 45), p. 314-315; M.K. THORNTON, *art. cit.* (n. 42), p. 446-453, 454-459.

Thirdly, and finally, he probably felt a need to explain and justify the arrangements he made at the end of his life regarding his succession. In that way he stole a march on potential adversaries and was able to pre-serve his successor (*in casu* even two generations of successors⁴⁷) from the queries that had surrounded his own accession.

To summarize: we have a presumably genuine autobiographical letter by Hadrian; there was, in Roman political life, a tradition of autobiographies written in the form of an ἐπιστολή; Hadrian wrote an autobiography. The question that now arises is whether these three pieces can be put together to produce a coherent whole. The very thought that with *P. Fay.* 19 a fragment — the opening — of Hadrian's epistolary autobiography has come down to us, is tempting indeed.

At first glance a number of objections can be lodged against this hypothesis.

Above the phrase ὡς εὔροϋ (l. 7) was used as an argument in favour of the letter's authenticity. One might remark that a formulation of this kind is typical of a private letter, in which points are often found that make perfect sense to the sender and the addressee of the missive, but which are at best barely intelligible to an outsider because he is not familiar with the full context. From another angle, however, it cannot be denied that an emperor's private life in any case had to allow for considerable interest on the part of the population and that news about certain events inevitably got out. In this respect Hadrian's *taedium vitae* at the end of his life, as well as the fact that Antoninus came to visit him in Baiae all the way from Rome to implore him to give up his suicide

⁴⁷ Initially Hadrian had predestined L. Ceionius Commodus to be his successor; however, the latter died before Hadrian could pass the sceptre on to him (Cassius Dio LXIX 17.1, 20.1; *HA, Hadr.* 23.10-16). Thereupon Hadrian declared he would adopt the *consularis* T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus, provided that the latter in his turn adopted as his successors L. Ceionius Commodus' young son (the future Lucius Verus) and M. Annius Verus (the future Marcus Aurelius, to whom Hadrian had given in marriage Ceionius' daughter) (Cassius Dio LXIX 20-21, LXX 1.1; *HA, Hadr.* 24.1-2, 26.6). See W.B. HENDERSON, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 259-264; J. CARCOPINO, *L'hérédité dynastique* (n. 4 = *Passion et politique*, p. 143-222); *id.*, *Le retour à l'hérédité chez les Antonins*, in ΠΑΓΚΑΠΙΕΙΑ. *Mélanges Henri Grégoire* (Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves, 9), Brussels 1949, p. 109-121; P. GRENADE, *Le règlement successoral d'Hadrien*, *REA* 52 (1950), p. 258-277; H.G. PFLAUM, *Le règlement successoral d'Hadrien*, in J. STRAUB (ed.), *Historia-Augusta-Colloquium Bonn 1963* (*Antiquitas*, Reihe 4: *Beiträge zur Historia-Augusta-Forschung*, 2), Bonn 1964, p. 95-122; J. CARCOPINO, *Encore la succession d'Hadrien*, *REA* 67 (1965), p. 67-79; W. WEBER, *Hadrian* (n. 45), p. 322-324; T.D. BARNES, *Hadrian and Lucius Verus*, *JRS* 57 (1967), p. 65-79; R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 702.

plans⁴⁸, surely must have penetrated beyond the palace gates. With the introductory words to his autobiography Hadrian might have tied in with this information.

On 24 January 138 Hadrian officially announced that he was going to adopt Antoninus. It seems hard to believe that Hadrian was still able to write his autobiography and publish it in support of his successor in the few months before he died (on July 10, 138). Yet this is not at all impossible: the editing of an autobiography could be done on very short notice, for the Roman emperors had much rough material (decrees, speeches, letters, acts, ...) at their immediate disposal, on the basis of which an autobiography could be written in a very short time⁴⁹. Besides, it is not unlikely that Hadrian, who only completed the arrangement of his succession very late, had finished his autobiography before that time but delayed its publication until it was definitely decided who would succeed him⁵⁰.

A serious objection is that the titles at the beginning of the text are not correct. From the moment of his adoption Antoninus' full name and titles read Imperator T. Aelius Caesar Antoninus trib. pot. cos.⁵¹, singling him out as the rightful heir to the throne. Now if Hadrian dedicated his official autobiography to Antoninus one would expect him to state the latter's name in full, including all his titles: this was not just a distinctive feature of official letters from the imperial age⁵², it would furthermore have shed extra light on Antoninus' dignity. However, the name may well have been given properly, in its entirety, in the original text, but mutilated when transmitted to the papyrus — either by the

⁴⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 282-283 with n. 10.

⁴⁹ See R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 697-698.

⁵⁰ Even if Hadrian already wrote his autobiography several months before his death, he could easily have written that his decease was not «untimely, unreasonable or piteous». Indeed, his resignation in the face of death does not have to be taken literally as the longing for death of a terminal patient and should not be directly connected with the chronic disease and the *taedium vitae* he was suffering from. As a matter of fact Hadrian in 138 was in the sixty-third year of his life, which the Romans regarded as a special *annus climactericus* in which a lot of people fell seriously ill and/or died; cf. Augustus' letter to his grandson Caius on the occasion of his sixty-fourth birthday, in which he notes with a sigh of relief that *κλιμακτηῖρα communem seniorum omnium tertium et sexagesimum annum evasimus* (A. Gellius, *Noct. Att.* XV 7.3); see R. GARLAND, *The Greek Way of Life from Conception to Old Age*, London 1990, p. 1-16, esp. 3-4. The import of this is that *P. Fay.* 19 should not *per se* be regarded as a farewell letter from the deathbed.

⁵¹ E. GROAG – A. STEIN, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani, Saec. I.II.III.* [PIR] I, Berlin–Leipzig 1933², no. 1513, p. 310-311.

⁵² See F.X.J. EXLER, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 50-60, 63.

teacher himself or at an earlier stage. Incidentally, Hadrian's name is given incompletely as well: the middle part of his official imperial title — Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραιανὸς ᾿Αδριανὸς Σεβαστός, i.e. Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus⁵³ — is lacking in the papyrus. This seems a sound reason for taking into account that some irregularity occurred in the copying of the names.

The strongest counter-argument is that nowhere in our sources is Hadrian said to have addressed his autobiography to Antoninus. What we read instead, in the *Historia Augusta*, is that Hadrian, *famae celebris cupidus*, wrote an autobiography and subsequently ordered some of his freedmen to publish it under their name. One man is explicitly mentioned in this context: *nam et Phlegontis libri Hadriani esse dicuntur*⁵⁴. Still, this is a most controversial statement which modern research has difficulty coping with. The Phlegon of Tralleis referred to is indeed a real person⁵⁵, but no antique source other than the *Historia Augusta* attributes a biography of Hadrian to him. At the end of the last century the radical thesis was advanced that this Phlegon was a phantom and that all works handed down under his name were in fact by Hadrian⁵⁶, a view now rightly repudiated. Other explanations ran to the effect that Phlegon was merely Hadrian's pseudonym in the case of his autobiography⁵⁷ or that the learned imperial *libertus* served as a cover-up for a forged

⁵³ E. GROAG – A. STEIN, *PIR* I², no. 184, p. 28-31.

⁵⁴ *HA, Hadr.* XVI.1. It was not exceptional for *liberti* to display historiographical activity: in addition to the great majority of historiographers of senatorial (and equestrian) rank we also know — among others — a number who held no official position but were personally linked to senators or emperors (as freedman, protégé or secretary); these people either produced original historical work or were requested by their relations to write biographies based on material provided personally by those concerned. See F.G. MILLAR, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 5-7; M. VON ALBRECHT, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur, von Andronicus bis Boethius. Mit Berücksichtigung ihrer Bedeutung für die Neuzeit I*, Bern 1992, p. 384; R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 630 with n. 2.

⁵⁵ Several works of his are known and have been preserved fragmentarily: see F. JACOBY, *FGrHist* 257.

⁵⁶ See J. PLEW, *Quellenuntersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrian*, Straßburg 1890, p. 3; H. PETER, *Die geschichtliche Litteratur über die römische Kaiserzeit bis Theodosius I und ihre Quellen I*, Leipzig 1897, p. 375 n. 1; M. SCHANZ – C. HOSIUS – G. KRUEGER, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur III, Die Zeit von Hadrian 117 bis auf Constantin 324 (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, VIII 3)*, München 1922³ (= 1959), p. 6-7, §506.1.

⁵⁷ See B.W. HENDERSON, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 274; H. BARDON, *Empereurs* (n. 4), p. 411-412 (his view is based on the assumption that it is unlikely «qu'un affranchi se soit permis d'écrire sur Hadrien, après Hadrien»; as I have remarked above (n. 54), this was not unusual at all).

(auto)biography of the emperor⁵⁸. The hypothesis now most widely accepted is that Hadrian published the Latin version of his autobiography under his own name and that Phlegon edited the Greek translation⁵⁹. Yet this solution is not watertight either. Cassius Dio, our sole other source to cite Hadrian's autobiography, was of Bithynian origin and wrote his Roman history for the Greek-speaking part of the empire. For one thing he probably knew the Greek version of Hadrian's memoirs best, and his readership must have been familiar with the same edition. Furthermore, bearing in mind the anti-Hadrian, pro-senatorial sentiment that pervades Dio's account⁶⁰, it is surprising indeed that in his chapter on Hadrian's literary activity — where once again he does not spare his criticism of the emperor, in this particular case his ambition and jealousy⁶¹ — Dio makes no mention whatsoever of the 'issue Phlegon', nor does he even refer to Phlegon when quoting the autobiography⁶². This applies also to the *Historia Augusta*: only in an isolated passage where Hadrian's writings are discussed is his devious plan for the publication of his memoirs mentioned. Already long ago the remark was made that the entire context to which this passage belongs is founded on «schlechte, den Hofklatsch wahllos wiederholende Einzelheiten»⁶³. The obvious explanation is that Hadrian published both the Latin and the Greek versions of his autobiography *under his own name*. Perhaps the story in the *Historia Augusta* originates from the fact that Phlegon made extensive use of the imperial memoirs to describe the emperor's life and government in a separate Βίος Ἀδριανοῦ. In that way Phlegon's name might have been directly connected with Hadrian's autobiography to

⁵⁸ See Eva FRANK, art. *Phlegon* (2), in *RE* XX 1 (1941), col. 261-264, esp. 263-264.

⁵⁹ See F. JACOBY, commentary on *FGrHist* 257 T5, p. 837, with older literature; R.G. LEWIS, art. cit. (n. 17), p. 698 with n. 230. In the same manner, according to Lewis (p. 672), Nikolaos of Damaskos' Περὶ τοῦ Βίου Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀγωγῆς was the Greek version of Augustus' autobiography *Cantabrico tenus bello, nec ultra*.

⁶⁰ Cf. n. 41 above.

⁶¹ Cf. Cassius Dio LXIX 3; especially 3.3: βουλόμενος γὰρ πάντων ἐν πᾶσι περιεῖναι ἔμισε τοὺς ἐν τινὶ ὑπεραίροντας.

⁶² Of course it should be remembered that the relevant part of Dio's Roman History has only come down to us through the *Excerpta* from books XXXVI-LXXX made by Johannes Xiphilinos (second half of the eleventh century) and that, inevitably, not everything from the original text has been preserved. Still, in view of the negative remarks that do survive in the surviving fragments, it may be safely assumed that a similar fact would have been mentioned by Xiphilinos if it had occurred in Dio.

⁶³ E. KORNEMANN, *Kaiser Hadrian und der letzte große Historiker von Rom*, Leipzig 1905, p. 59 (*non vidi*, quoted by Eva FRANK, art. cit. [n. 58], col. 264).

make the latter appear in an unfavourable light, even though Phlegon *stricto sensu* had nothing to do with it. If this is true, this counter-argument would be refuted as well. In any event, considering the fragmentary state of the tradition it should come as no surprise that a mere allusion to the dedication of Hadrian's autobiography is missing.

I conclude that none of the objections that can be lodged against my theory is decisive. What is more, there are three good reasons for accepting that Hadrian did write his autobiography in epistolary form.

Such a piece of writing was certainly within Hadrian's capabilities. From our literary sources he emerges as a highly cultivated man with wide cultural interests and a large cultural stock-in-trade⁶⁴, and he was no exception to the rule that an *imperator* was active in the literary field as well. Actually a great number of miscellaneous writings bearing his name have come down to us, in prose as well as verse, in Latin as well as Greek⁶⁵; among other things, he practised the genre of the literary letter⁶⁶.

It is a well-known fact that Augustus was the prime person on whom Hadrian patterned himself⁶⁷. It is also well-known that Augustus pub-

⁶⁴ All ancient sources abound with comments on and references to Hadrian's artistic activities and cultural policy, both of which were heavily influenced by his great love of Greek culture in general and Athens in particular. This the *Graeculus* explicitly professed in a letter to Athens that is epigraphically preserved: "Ἰστε ὡς πάσαις χρῶμαι προφάσεσιν τοῦ εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ δημοσίαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἰδία Ἀθηναίων τινάς (*IG* II² 1, 1102 l. 10-11). See M. SCHANZ – C. HOSIUS – G. KRÜGER, *op. cit.* (n. 56), p. 3-6; Anna S. BENJAMIN, *The Altar of Hadrian in Athens and Hadrian's Panhellenic Program*, *Hesperia* 32 (1963), p. 57-86; J.-M. ANDRÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 3) (on Hadrian's cultural interests see esp. p. 583-588; *passim*, for his philhellenism); S.A. STERTZ, *art. cit.* (n. 41) (on p. 612-613 n. 1-2 a bibliography concerning Hadrian's philhellenism).

⁶⁵ Cf. Cassius Dio LXIX 3.1: φύσει δὲ φιλόλογος ἐν ἑκατέραι τῇ γλώσσῃ καὶ τινα καὶ περὶ καὶ ἐν ἔπεσι ποιήματα παντοδαπὰ καταλέλοιπε; *HA, Hadr.* 14.8: *fuit poematum et litterarum nimium studiosissimus*. For an overview of Hadrian's literary activity: M. SCHANZ – C. HOSIUS – G. KRÜGER, *op. cit.* (n. 56), p. 6-9; H. BARDON, *Empereurs* (n. 4), p. 393-424; *id.*, *Littérature* (n. 18), p. 183-184, 196, 211, 233-234; O.A.W. DILKE, *art. cit.* (n. 18), p. 83-84, 88, 94-95; J.-M. ANDRÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 583-611 (with additional literature on p. 583*).

⁶⁶ See M. SCHANZ – C. HOSIUS – G. KRÜGER, *op. cit.* (n. 56), p. 4, 8; H. BARDON, *Empereurs* (n. 4), p. 410-411; J.-M. ANDRÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 588 with n. 41.

⁶⁷ From the very inception of his regime Hadrian made no secret of the fact that Augustus was his beacon. When, shortly after his accession, he was presented with the title *pater patriae*, he refused it (temporarily) because Augustus had only received it at the end of his life (cf. *HA, Hadr.* 6.5). In the East Hadrian abandoned the offensive policy that Trajan had conducted there, in agreement with the advice Augustus had legated to his successor (viz. to renounce further expansion of the empire and to keep it within its then boundaries) (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* I 11). Also he always paid tribute to the senate, which

lished two autobiographical writings. We have evidence that Hadrian commissioned an inscription in which he presented an overview of his regime; it seems fair to relate this inscription to Augustus' *Res Gestae*⁶⁸. On the other hand, the fragments that are undoubtedly borrowed from Hadrian's autobiography show traces of a *conscious* imitation of that of his illustrious predecessor as regards content⁶⁹. Earlier I have already pointed out that Augustus wrote *De vita sua* in accordance with the epistolary tradition. Is it not possible that Hadrian was also inspired by his predecessor as to form?

The most important reason why Hadrian might have written his autobiography in the form of a literary letter is his choice of successor. Unlike the emperor Vespasian, for instance, who in his *Commentarius de bello Iudaico* had ample opportunity to highlight the merits and qualities of his son Titus, Hadrian had no dynamic and vigorous successor who could pride himself on such grand *res gestae*. Antoninus did have some experi-

could not be said of many of his predecessors, but of Augustus most certainly; in general he shared Augustus' respect for the past and for traditional Roman values. Hadrian wanted to be the guardian of the *status optimus res publicae* that Augustus had established and in which the latter had only been the first and the best among all citizens (cf. Suetonius, *Augustus* 28). Even beyond death Hadrian remained loyal to the example of the first *princeps*. The way he arranged his succession (cf. n. 48 above) immediately calls to mind how Augustus settled his: when he adopted his son-in-law Tiberius he compelled him to in turn adopt Germanicus (Tacitus, *Annales* I 3, IV 57; cf. Cassius Dio LV 13.2). In this way both men — Augustus and Hadrian — arranged their succession over several generations.

On these (and other) points in common see P.L. STRACK, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des 2. Jahrhunderts* II, Stuttgart 1933 p. 43-45; J. CARCOPINO, *L'hérédité dynastique* (n. 4), p. 264; R. SYME, *Tacitus* (n. 41), p. 247-248; W. WEBER, *Hadrian* (n. 45), p. 301, 304, 306-308, 323-324; M.K. THORNTON, *art. cit.* (n. 42), p. 434-445.

⁶⁸ The inscription in question was inscribed — according to Pausanias I 5.5 — on one of the walls of the Pantheon at Athens, which was erected by Hadrian; see U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, *Hermes* 21 (1886), p. 623-624; P. VON ROHDEN, *loc. cit.* (n. 41), col. 496; W.B. HENDERSON, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 114 (he is sceptical about the «exuberant Teutonic fancy» of, among others, Wilamowitz, but he does not advance any arguments for his view); P. GRAINDOR, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo 1934, p. 55-56; W. DEN BOER, *Religion and Literature in Hadrian's Policy*, *Mnemosyne* Ser. IV, 8 (1955), p. 138 with n. 2. For the moment this is the only known copy of the inscription; it is uncertain whether Hadrian had it distributed throughout the Empire.

⁶⁹ See R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 699 (with n. 233), 701 (with n. 241-242), who gives some convincing arguments to refute the sceptical assertion of H. BARDON, *Empereurs* (n. 4), p. 413 («à notre avis, n'est-il pas possible de parler, chez Hadrien, d'imitation consciente»; by the way, Bardons's statement only concerned Augustus' *Res Gestae*, not his autobiography proper).

ence as a jurist and administrator, and one of his outstanding virtues was his integrity, but as a military man he had achieved virtually nothing. Hadrian therefore might have resorted to artifice in order to introduce his successor to the inhabitants of the empire. The conditions in which he found himself were totally different from those for Augustus in the middle of the twenties B.C.: in A.D. 138 the new type of administration had been established for over 150 years and the emperor's position had become all the more untouchable. Consequently it is out of the question that Hadrian, in publishing his autobiography, was still trying to seek shelter under the wings of an influential partisan. This offered him the opportunity to reinterpret an existing format: by addressing his autobiography to his adopted son and by presenting the latter as the one person in whom he put his complete trust — after all, he was the one who stood by him when he was in dire straits!⁷⁰ — he was able to push him forward as the ideal candidate to be entrusted with the rule of the empire⁷¹.

If *P. Fay.* 19 really contains the opening of Hadrian's autobiography, the question whether this is an original Greek text written by Hadrian himself or a translation made by somebody else is irrelevant. In view of Hadrian's penchant for Greek culture and language, it is not entirely unlikely that he wrote the Greek himself, but it is equally possible that he had somebody else do it: P. Rutilius Rufus, Sulla, Cicero and Augustus already led the way in this respect⁷².

Be that as it may, it is more or less certain that Hadrian, in addition to the obvious Latin version of his autobiography⁷³, authorized a Greek one as well. Indeed, in Rome the importance of propaganda in the Greek-speaking part of the *Imperium* was duly appreciated and the circulation of autobiographies there — in Greek, of course — was considered imperative⁷⁴.

⁷⁰ Cf. *P. Fay.* 19, l. 2-7. It should not be overlooked that Hadrian had also made Antoninus a member of the *consilium principis*: *HA, Pius* 3.8.

⁷¹ Cf. p. 290-291 above, where I have already pointed out how important the identity of the addressee of an epistolary autobiography was.

⁷² For all references see R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 662 (with n. 110) and 665 on Rutilius Rufus, 665 (with n. 119) and 697-698 (with n. 227) on Sulla, 636 n. 20 and 668 (with n. 128) on Cicero. In this respect the Greek version of Augustus' *Res Gestae* can also be brought up. Cf. Cicero, *pro Archia poeta* 10.23, where he emphasizes the need of publishing in Greek in order to ensure distribution across the entire Mediterranean.

⁷³ See H. BARDON, *Empereurs* (n. 4), p. 412, and also P. VON WINTERFELD, *Satzschlussstudien zur Historia Augusta, I. Hadrians Autobiographie*, *RhM* 57 (1902), p. 549-558, who found traces of the Latin version of the autobiography.

⁷⁴ See R.G. LEWIS, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 697-698. Of a number of official *rescripta* of Hadrian it is definitely so that the original was drawn up in Latin and that the Greek trans-

Now it only remains to explain how Hadrian's autobiographical 'letter' could find its way to a school in a corner of the Empire as far-off as the Fayum. If my assumption is correct and we are not dealing with a letter in the literal sense of the word, the problems are by no means insurmountable. From the finds of literary papyri in the Oxyrhynchite nome one can get a clear picture of the literature that was known and read in this region in the imperial age⁷⁵. Thus we learn that a large part of the classical and contemporary literature was available in Egypt: a considerable number of authors is well-represented in the hundreds of literary papyri from Oxyrhynchus. (Auto)Biographical writings, too, apparently attracted attention.

Admittedly, the Arsinoite nome was, in the imperial age, not as important as, say, the Oxyrhynchite, so one must be careful in extrapolating conclusions for one region to another⁷⁶. Still, Hadrian's autobiography is not just another literary text. Considering the aura naturally surrounding the imperial court and everything connected with it, and the two visits the emperor paid to Egypt in the course of his reign, it should not surprise that merely sixty years after his decease⁷⁷ the Greek version of Hadrian's autobiography was still circulating. Besides, having seen to which propagandistic ends Greek versions of autobiographies by Roman politicians were distributed in the East, I am inclined to believe that Hadrian's text was still well-known in Egypt at the end of the second century A.D.⁷⁸.

The schoolmaster either personally excerpted the striking opening from the autobiography — as the present-day reader is instantly

lation was made later (see H. BARDON, *Empereurs* [n. 4], p. 396). Augustus, too, always drafted his Greek correspondence in Latin and had it translated afterwards (cf. Suetonius, *Augustus* 89). In the administration of the Empire bilingualism had by then already been established for some time; see F.F. ABBOTT – A.C. JOHNSON, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, Princeton 1926, p. 236-237; J.-M. ANDRÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 596-597 with n. 126.

⁷⁵ See J. KRÜGER, *Oxyrhynchus in der Kaiserzeit. Studien zur Topographie und Literaturrezeption (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe III. Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, 441)*, Frankfurt am Main–Bern–New York–Paris 1990; Mariachiara LAMA, *Aspetti di tecnica libraria ad Ossirinco: copie letterarie su rotoli documentari, Aegyptus* 71 (1991), p. 55-120, esp. 109-120.

⁷⁶ Cf. B.P. GRENFELL – A.S. HUNT, *P. Fay.*, p. 19: «Fayûm villages are not the places in which to look for a classical library».

⁷⁷ As said earlier *P. Fay.* 19 has, on palaeographical grounds, been dated no later than the end of the second century A.D.; cf. p. 279 above.

⁷⁸ On Hadrian and Egypt see S. PERNIGOTTI – M. CAPASSO, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 38 with n. 53 (with further literature).

reminded of the deathbed poem, so the readership in Antiquity must have been — or found it in a textbook or a compilation, which surely must have been readily available even in the Arsinoite nome.

As for the use of imperial writings for school purposes further proof can be furnished. The so-called *hermeneumata pseudodositheaana*, a schoolbook in twelve parts from late Antiquity, contained, among other things, some *Divi Hadriani sententiae et epistulae*⁷⁹. The fragments that have survived include a letter written by Hadrian to his mother. Its authenticity is a moot point, but the title of the particular part of the work nonetheless proves that imperial writings — *in casu* correspondence — were actually employed in education. Presumably the compiler of the handbook drew on an anthology of imperial exchange of letters, for several times letters of Hadrian are referred to and/or quoted in our sources⁸⁰. Their genuineness has not in all instances been ascertained, but it is assumed that a number of Hadrian's letters — personal as well as official — were published after his death⁸¹. Above it has already been observed that life in and around the imperial palace must have exerted an intriguing attraction on people — for that matter, a phenomenon of all times. There are indications that in this respect certain things lingered

⁷⁹ See *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, ed. G. GOETZ, vol. III: *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheaana, accedunt hermeneumata medicobotanica vetustiora*, Leipzig 1892 (p. 31-37 for the *sententiae et epistulae*). In the tradition the book was attributed to Dositheus *magister*, the grammarian of the fourth century A.D. who was famous for an *Ars grammatica* in which Latin words and phrases were included with their Greek equivalents; the *Ars* was used especially to teach Latin and served for a considerable time as a school book (see H. KEIL, *Grammatici Latini VII: Scriptores de orthographia*, Leipzig 1880 [= Hildesheim 1961], p. 363-436, esp. 363-375). Because the *hermeneumata* were likewise bilingual (in this case Greek with translation in Latin), they were already at an early stage in the tradition considered the counterpart of Dositheus' *Ars*. See G. GOETZ, art. *Dositheos* (8), in *RE* V 2 (1905), col. 1606-1607; H.-I. MARROU, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, Paris 1965⁶, p. 386-388; W. STRZELECKI, art. *Dositheus*, in *DKP* II (1967), col. 154.

⁸⁰ Cf. Cassius Dio LXIX 2.4, 8.1^a, 14.3, 17.3; *HA, Hadr.* 6.1-2, 15.5; *HA, Firm., Sat., Proc. et Bon.* 7.6-8; Iustinus Philos. Martyr, *Apologia* I 68; Epiphanius, Περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν 14; Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum* I 533.

⁸¹ See H. BARDON, *Empereurs* (n. 4), p. 409-411: the French scholar allows for the posthumous publication of a collection of letters *ad familiares* by Hadrian (in which edition Cassius Dio would then have found, among other things, the letter he cites at LXIX 17). See also M. SCHANZ – C. HOSIUS – G. KRÜGER, *op. cit.* (n. 56), p. 7-8; B.P. GRENFELL – A.S. HUNT, *P. Fay.*, p. 115; W. CROENERT, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 364; J. CARCOPINO, *L'hérédité dynastique* (n. 4), p. 305 (= *Passion et politique*, p. 199-200; on the basis of *HA, Saturn.* 7.6, he ascribes the publishing of a similar collection to the aforementioned Phlegon of Tralleis); J.-M. ANDRÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 601 with n. 173.

as common knowledge among the populace for a long time⁸². There can be no doubt, then, that in Antiquity many publications — certainly more than hitherto surmised — were devoted to even very intimate incidents at court, and that these were avidly bought and read throughout the empire⁸³. The private imperial correspondence must also have been much appreciated. From a collection of such material pseudo-Dositheos may have drawn for his schoolbook.

So, at the end of this investigation we find that imperial writings — private as well as official — circulated widely through the empire and qualified for use in education. It is a pity that only so few ancient autobiographical writings have come down to us and that sound conclusions are impossible to reach solely on the basis of fragmentary evidence. Yet, combined with all other facts gathered I would give a cautiously affirmative reply to the question asked above (p. 293) and conclude that there is a good chance that *P. Fay.* 19 has preserved for us the beginning of Hadrian's autobiography, written in epistolary form and addressed to his successor Antoninus⁸⁴.

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven
Afdeling Oude Geschiedenis

Jan BOLLANSÉE

⁸² F.G. MILLAR, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 62-63.

⁸³ W. WEBER, *Untersuchungen* (n. 44), p. 39 n. 139. In this context Suetonius' *vitae* of emperors were presumably only the tip of an iceberg.

⁸⁴ I would like to thank Professor W. CLARYSSE for drawing my attention to the papyrus, for helping me with the edition of the fragment and for many valuable suggestions. I would also like to thank Professors H. VERDIN and G. SCHEPENS for their highly valued advice. Of course, final responsibility for the views presented in this paper is mine alone.

STRUCTURE ET THÈMES INITIATIQUES DE L'ÂNE D'OR D'APULÉE*

Le but de cet article est de démontrer que la structure de l'*Âne d'or* d'Apulée reproduit très probablement la structure typique des rites d'initiation. En d'autres termes, nous nous proposons d'analyser la structure du roman apuléen à la lumière de celle des initiations et de montrer que la plupart de ses thèmes majeurs évoquent les caractéristiques des rites initiatiques.

Ce rapprochement des rituels et d'un roman peut surprendre. Il s'appuie sur quelques raisons sérieuses. En effet, l'*Âne d'or* a beau être l'imitation d'une source grecque, il n'en reste pas moins vrai que tel qu'il existe actuellement, ce récit a été réécrit par Apulée. Or ce dernier était marqué par l'expérience des initiations aux mystères¹. D'autre part, le livre onze de l'*Âne d'or* relate une des trois initiations subies par son personnage principal. Etant donné les lacunes de nos informations sur les mystères de l'Antiquité, un recours méthodique aux acquis de l'anthropologie pour rendre compte du roman apuléen paraît pleinement justifié: c'est partir du plus connu au moins connu.

L'intérêt de cette approche consiste à apporter une explication quelque peu éprouvée à certains problèmes que pose l'interprétation de l'*Âne d'or* depuis longtemps. Parmi ceux-ci, citons notamment: l'alliage du sérieux et de l'obscénité, l'unité du roman, la fonction et la signification du conte de Psyché. Il s'agit aussi d'étayer l'interprétation religieuse du roman d'arguments anthropologiques, cela ne semble pas avoir été fait jusqu'à présent, du moins à notre connaissance.

Dans un premier temps, nous présenterons la structure des initiations telle que l'ont définie Arnold Van Gennep² et, à sa suite, Victor Turner³,

* Cet article est tiré de notre thèse de doctorat, soutenue en octobre 1993 devant la K.U.Leuven sur *L'initiation isiaque dans l'Âne d'or d'Apulée et parallèles avec deux initiations africaines*. Nous tenons à remercier vivement les Professeurs Willy EVENEPOEL et Hans HAUBEN, respectivement promoteur et co-promoteur de nos recherches, pour leurs conseils judicieux et leurs remarques précieuses. Le Professeur René DEVISCH, anthropologue, a aussi droit à notre reconnaissance pour l'aide efficace qu'il nous a apportée. Le Professeur Alfons WOUTERS nous a fait bénéficier de sa connaissance du roman antique.

¹ Apulée, *Apologie* 55.8.

² *Les rites de passage. Etude systématique des rites*, Paris 1909.

³ *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*, Ithaca-Londres 1967, p. 93-111; ID., in: S.F. MOORE – B.G. MYERHOFF (edd.), *Secular Ritual*, Assen-Amsterdam 1977, p. 36-52.

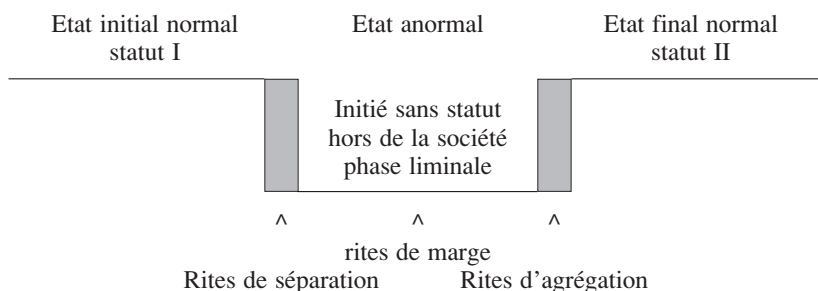
qui en a élaboré davantage la deuxième phase. Bien qu'il date du début de ce siècle, le modèle mis au point par le folkloriste français pour l'analyse de la dynamique des rites de passage fait encore autorité. Ensuite, nous mettrons en lumière la structure ternaire de l'*Âne d'or*, avant de passer en revue les principaux thèmes du roman qui renvoient aux caractéristiques de la phase de marge des scénarios initiatiques.

I. STRUCTURE DES INITIATIONS

La structure typique des rites de passage et en particulier des initiations, c.-à-d. l'ensemble des actes d'un rituel initiatique considérés dans leur ordre de succession, se décompose en trois phases :

- phase des rites de séparation
- phase des rites de marge ou phase liminale
- phase des rites d'agrégation⁴

Le graphique suivant en donne une illustration claire :



Ainsi l'itinéraire d'un homme qui subit une initiation transite généralement par ces trois états. Le premier, ou l'état initial normal, correspond au statut religieux et social ordinaire de l'individu avant son initiation. L'état final normal équivaut au nouveau statut, acquis après et grâce à l'initiation. Entre ces deux états normaux, l'initiant n'a plus de statut défini, puisqu'il a perdu l'ancien et n'a pas encore acquis le nouveau. Il se situe entre les deux statuts, dans un état a-normal, en-deça des normes de la société établie. Les rites de séparation dépouillent le candidat à initier de son état initial; les rites de marge ou de la phase liminale constituent l'initiation proprement dite et les rites d'agrégation assurent l'intégration de l'initié dans son nouveau statut, c'est-à-dire un nouvel état normal, différent du premier.

⁴ A. VAN GENNEP, *Rites de passage* (n. 2), p.14; Nicole BELMONT, in P. CENTLIVRES – J. HAINARD (edd.), *Les rites de passage aujourd'hui*, Lausanne 1986, p. 10.

II. STRUCTURE DE L'ÂNE D'OR

Avant d'examiner la structure du roman donnons-en un résumé succinct.

L'Âne d'or (ou les *Métamorphoses*) est une des œuvres d'Apulée, auteur latin d'Afrique du II^e siècle après J.-C. Il relate les aventures d'un personnage nommé Lucius⁵. Au cours d'un voyage celui-ci voulait se transformer en hibou en imitant une magicienne. Mais suite à une confusion d'onguent, il s'est malencontreusement métamorphosé en âne, tout en conservant son intelligence humaine.

La nuit même de cet avatar, il est enlevé par une troupe de brigands et emmené sur une haute montagne en pleine forêt. C'est dans la caverne de ces voleurs qu'il entend le joli conte de Psyché. Après mille et une tribulations au service de ses maîtres successifs, Lucius, que les siens croyaient mort, recouvre sa forme humaine, grâce à une intervention de la déesse égyptienne Isis. Par la suite, il est admis à l'initiation aux mystères de cette déesse et devient même prêtre au service du dieu Osiris, le célèbre époux d'Isis.

L'itinéraire de Lucius, le héros de l'Âne d'or, ne constitue-t-il pas un développement romancé de cette structure à trois états et deux statuts, mais aussi une affabulation des thèmes de l'initiation⁶?

L'Âne d'or décrit successivement trois images de Lucius:

- 1) Lucius avant sa métamorphose (I 1 — III 24.2)
- 2) Lucius transformé en âne (III 24.3 — XI 13.2)
- 3) Lucius réintégré dans son humanité (XI 13.3-30).

⁵ Nous avons utilisé le texte latin de D.S. ROBERTSON – P. VALLETTE dans la *Collection des Universités de France*.

⁶ L'hypothèse et l'argument de cette étude étaient déjà rédigés quand nous avons pris connaissance de l'article de Th.N. HABINEK, *Lucius' Rite of Passage*, in *MD* 25 (1990), p. 49-69. Nos recherches indépendantes s'accordent à reconnaître les trois phases du schéma des rites de passage dans le récit romanesque d'Apulée. Cependant, à part cette référence commune à l'anthropologie, le reste et les conclusions de Habinek et ceux de notre travail divergent. En effet, il consacre la suite de son article à étudier principalement les trois fêtes d'Hypata, de Corinthe et de Cenchrées. Ses conclusions s'appuient plutôt sur les arguments de J.J. WINKLER, *Auctor & Actor*, Berkeley 1985, pourtant déjà réfutées par d'autres chercheurs. Habinek insiste, comme Winkler, sur la naïveté de Lucius qui ne comprend pas le sens de ses épreuves (p. 52-53). Pourtant cette naïveté n'est qu'une expression de la stupidité, qui constitue avec la lubricité et le pelage roux les trois fondements de la ressemblance de l'âne avec Seth-Typhon (Plutarque, *Isis et Osiris* 32, 365C). Rien de plus logique que la stupidité de Lucius métamorphosé en âne, incarnation de Seth-Typhon. Loin de contredire la signification isiaque des épreuves de Lucius-âne, sa naïveté semble, au contraire, la renforcer, autant sans doute que le titre *Asinus aureus* qui renvoie au pelage roux de l'âne. Cf. R. MARTIN, *REL* 48 (1970), p. 332-354.

Ces trois images différentes correspondent exactement aux trois états que comporte le processus de l'initiation: avant, pendant et après. En effet, les rites magiques par lesquels Lucius est changé en âne fonctionnent comme des rites de séparation. Car ils entraînent la perte de l'humanité de Lucius et de sa place dans la société. Mais il n'est pas tout à fait un âne puisqu'il conserve l'usage de ses facultés intellectuelles. Placé entre l'animalité et l'humanité, Lucius-âne expérimente un état transitoire anormal, en marge de la société des hommes.

La seconde partie du livre XI nous montre le dernier état de Lucius: il est devenu non seulement homme comme avant, mais aussi Isiaque. La prière de ce personnage à la Lune, l'apparition et la réponse d'Isis, la fête de la navigation (XI 1-12) jouent le rôle de rites d'agrégation de Lucius à la communauté des adorateurs (*cultores*) d'Isis. A l'opposé de la magie qui a réduit ce personnage à l'état animal, le rituel de la fête en l'honneur d'Isis permet au personnage de réintégrer son humanité et de participer à la procession isiaque (XI 16.2). A partir de ce moment, il ne quittera plus la religion d'Isis. Il est déjà admis dans le temple (XI 17.5, 19.1). Mais il n'est pas encore initié *stricto sensu*. Bref, avant sa première initiation proprement dite (XI 23-24), Lucius est déjà devenu adepte d'Isis comme bien d'autres fidèles non-initiés de cette déesse⁷.

Il en résulte qu'après le retour de Lucius à sa forme humaine et son admission parmi les Isiaques, l'itinéraire de ce héros comporte déjà les trois états et les deux statuts différents du cheminement d'un initié. En voici le graphique:

Etat initial normal Statut I		Etat anormal		Etat final normal Statut II
Lucius		Lucius-âne		Lucius isiaque
Livre I – III 24.2		III 24.3 – XI 13.1-2		XI 13.3 – 30
	III 24.2 ⁸ Séparation		XI 13.1-2 Agrégation	

⁷ Dans le groupe des fidèles d'Isis, on distinguait deux catégories, les simples fidèles et les initiés (Apulée, *Âne d'or* XI 9). Par 'initiation proprement dite', nous entendons l'initiation isiaque de Lucius décrite dans l'*Âne d'or* (XI 23-24), qui s'insère dans la troisième phase de la structure globale du roman. Cf. infra, p. 308-309.

⁸ Nous avons mentionné deux fois chacun des deux passages de l'*Âne d'or* (III 24.2 et XI 13.1-2) pour indiquer qu'ils marquent la transition entre des états différents de Lucius et décrivent des rites.

Jusqu'à présent, notre démarche a consisté en somme à rapprocher la structure anthropologique des rites de passage du récit de l'*Âne d'or*⁹. Mais il est possible de tirer de celui-ci des faits qui corroborent son interprétation initiatique.

Ainsi, l'adjectif *renatus*¹⁰ (rené) est appliqué à Lucius après sa métamorphose en homme et avant son initiation proprement dite (XI 14.2, 16.4). Or il est connu que la plupart des religions considèrent ceux qui viennent d'être initiés comme des nouveau-nés, c'est-à-dire comme des renés. Apulée lui-même emploie aussi cette métaphore pour qualifier l'état de Lucius après son initiation isiaque:

Exhinc festissimum celebraui natalem sacrorum, et suaues epulae et faceta conuiuia (XI 24.4).

Du reste, le recours à cette métaphore ne saurait être tenu pour une invention originale du romancier. C'était le langage même du clergé d'Isis, comme le suggère l'*Âne d'or* (XI 21.7), et des autres cultes analogues. Bien plus, un autre passage du roman, avant la relation de l'initiation proprement dite de Lucius, autorise à comprendre la métamorphose de ce personnage en âne comme une forme de mort rituelle:

Confestim denique familiares ac uernulae quique mihi proximo nexu sanguinis cohaerebant, luctu deposito, quem de meae mortis falso nuntio susceperant, repentino laetati gaudio uarie quisque munera-bundi ad meum festinant ilico diurnum reducemque ab inferis conspectum (XI 18.2).

Tous ces passages que nous venons de citer attestent que le narrateur principal et d'autres personnages du roman apulien conçoivent l'état de Lucius changé en âne et le recouvrement de son humanité comme un processus de mort et de nouvelle naissance, c'est-à-dire correspondant aux deuxième et troisième états du cheminement d'un initié. Soulignons la cohérence de cette vision: la mort symbolique est suivie de la renaissance de Lucius. Cette conception de la métamorphose en âne qui est

⁹ A. SCOBIE, in B.L. HUMANS Jr. – R. VAN DER PAARDT (edd.), *Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass*, Groningue 1978, p. 49, distingue trois sections dans la structure de l'*Âne d'or* en se basant uniquement sur le roman sans référence à la structure des rites de passage. A propos du mélange des aspects ludiques et de l'instruction dans le roman, ce spécialiste d'Apulée note: «The subject requires further investigation» (p. 61 n. 91).

¹⁰ P. VEYNE, in *RPh* 39 (1965), p. 247 n. 4, écrit: «Il nous semble que *renatus* en dit moins qu'«initié», mais plus que «ayant repris forme humaine» ou «recommençant ses années de vie». La relation entre ce *renatus* et la fausse rumeur sur la mort de Lucius semble avoir échappé à Veyne.

partagée par plusieurs personnages du roman nous semble être celle de l'auteur lui-même.

Pour récapituler, reprenons les termes de l'homélie du prêtre d'Isis à l'occasion du retour de Lucius à son humanité (XI 15):

1. Etat initial normal de Lucius	natales dignitas doctrina curiositas Tels sont les attributs de Lucius avant sa métamorphose en âne (livres I – III 24.2)
2. Etat intermédiaire anormal: Lucius-âne	Cet état est caractérisé par: tempestates Fortunae labores latrones ferae metus mortis itinera aerumna
3. Etat final normal de Lucius-homme	Cet état est défini par les expressions: tutela Fortunae uidentis religiosam beatitudinem candido habitu uultum laetiozem gaudens Lucius

Au moment où le prêtre d'Isis prononce cette allocution qui met en évidence le passage de Lucius par les trois états, celui-ci n'est pas encore initié. Néanmoins, il est déjà pris en mains par la déesse (*Fortuna uidens*). Les termes qui décrivent son état actuel caractérisé par la joie et la félicité de nature religieuse, symbolisé par l'habit blanc isiaque, marquent nettement la différence avec les tribulations de Lucius-âne. L'initiation proprement dite apparaît dès lors comme un renforcement de l'état actuel de ce héros comme l'indiquent les comparatifs:

Quo tamen tutior sis atque munitior, da nomen sanctae huic militiae,
... (XI 15.5).

Si l'itinéraire de Lucius comporte déjà les trois états avant son initiation isiaque, que penser de la partie du livre XI depuis le chapitre 23

qui commence par le récit de l'initiation proprement dite? Tout en étant entièrement incluse dans la troisième phase de la structure ternaire du roman, elle apparaît en même temps comme un doublet de la structure des rites de passage déjà présente dans ce qui précède. Expliquons cela.

Après avoir été pendant un certain temps simple adorateur de la déesse Isis, Lucius reçoit un beau jour de celle-ci l'invitation à se faire initier. Cette initiation elle-même est basée sur une structure ternaire. Elle fait passer Lucius de son état de *cultor* à celui d'initié au culte d'Isis. Ainsi la structure à trois phases de l'*Âne d'or* se présente comme le miroir macroscopique de celle de l'initiation isiaque de Lucius (XI 23-24).

Le statut final acquis par Lucius est différent de celui de profane qu'il endossait avant sa métamorphose en âne. Initié aux mystères d'Isis et d'Osiris il accède enfin au rang de pastophore (XI 25-30). C'est sa promotion comme prêtre habilité, entre autres, à conférer l'initiation aux nouveaux candidats élus par la divinité. Il se voit ainsi assuré définitivement de la protection d'Isis et d'Osiris.

En résumé, la division de la structure de l'*Âne d'or* en trois parties se fonde non seulement sur la présence des trois images différentes de Lucius mais aussi sur plusieurs passages du roman. A notre avis, aucun indice textuel ne justifie la division binaire du roman sur laquelle s'appuient la plupart des interprétations des savants modernes.

III. LES THEMES DE L'ÂNE D'OR

Après avoir mis en évidence la structure initiatique globale de l'*Âne d'or*, nous consacrons les pages qui suivent à une analyse un peu plus détaillée des thèmes de la seconde phase de cette transformation rituelle. La similarité entre la structure des initiations et celle du roman apulien sera confirmée si les caractéristiques de la phase de marge, qui est la partie la plus importante dans les scénarios initiatiques, se laissent déceler dans la section correspondante de l'*Âne d'or*.

Rappelons d'abord le statut initial de Lucius. Tel qu'il est défini par les trois premiers livres de l'*Âne d'or* avant sa métamorphose en bête de somme, l'état de Lucius comme 'personnage sur papier' se résume en quelques mots. Grec issu d'une famille noble, instruit et jouissant d'un niveau social élevé, il a été initié à de nombreux mystères, à l'exception sans doute de ceux d'Isis. Il se montre fasciné par la magie. Celle-ci devient pour lui une véritable obsession.

Comme tel, ce personnage romanesque pouvait correspondre à des milliers de personnages historiques. Il fait donc figure d'individu exemplaire de l'Antiquité. Son état est normal. Toutefois l'itinéraire dans lequel il s'engage va mettre bientôt fin à ce mode d'être paisible. C'est sa curiosité pour les secrets de la magie qui le conduit à se différencier du commun des mortels. C'est pourquoi il importait de mettre en lumière le portrait de Lucius tel qu'il se présentait avant le processus de mutation.

Sans perdre de vue le fait que l'œuvre étudiée dans cette dissertation est une création romanesque et non une description anthropologique objective d'une initiation observée, il importe maintenant de relever dans les livres III 24 à XI 13 les thèmes majeurs susceptibles d'être interprétés comme des traits distinctifs de la seconde phase de la structure typique des initiations.

A titre de rappel, ces éléments caractéristiques de la phase de marge, définis par Van Gennep et Turner¹¹, se présentent comme suit:

- la réclusion du candidat à initier;
- l'ambiguïté du candidat à initier;
- les épreuves du candidat à initier;
- la suspension des normes habituelles;
- l'instruction;
- la présence des éléments ludiques.

Nous avons laissé tomber le problème des relations de l'initié avec ses pairs, car l'initiation de Lucius est individuelle. Par contre, le lien entre le passage humain et le changement cosmique sera examiné.

1. *La réclusion de Lucius*

La nuit même de sa transformation en âne (III 21.3, 25.4), Lucius est enlevé par une troupe de brigands et conduit dans leur caverne sur une montagne (III 28.5), c'est-à-dire que l'homme appelé Lucius disparaît pour une longue période de la société et de la ville d'Hypata (VII 2.1). Comme tout personnage liminal, il est donc soustrait à la visibilité sociale; sa vie d'âne au service des brigands s'apparente à une forme de réclusion. Ceux-ci se cachent en marge de la société. La description de la situation de leur caverne sur une montagne en pleine forêt témoigne de leur état liminal:

¹¹ A. VAN GENNEP, *Rites de passage* (n. 2), p. 14; V.W. TURNER, *Forest of Symbols* (n. 3), p. 93-111; *Secular Ritual* (n. 3), p. 36-52.

Mons horridus siluestribusque frondibus umbrosus et in primis altus
fuit (...) Ea tu bono certe meo periculo latronum dixeris atria. Nec iuxta
quicquam quam parua casula cannulis temere contacta (IV 6.2 et 6).

Le séjour de Lucius parmi les brigands ne comprend pas l'entièreté des livres III 24 à XI 13, la partie considérée comme la période liminale du héros. En y incluant le conte de Psyché, ce récit du séjour est de loin le plus fourni des récits du roman (III 28 à VII 12). A ce titre, ce séjour représente à lui tout seul le symbole de la réclusion dans les rites d'initiation et qualifie quelques traits de la phase de marge — dont la transgression — qui ne peuvent être analysés sous la présente rubrique. En fait, la réclusion de Lucius couvre toute la période durant laquelle celui-ci expérimente la condition de l'âne jusqu'au moment où il reprend sa forme humaine, c'est-à-dire son statut dans la société, en l'occurrence la communauté isiaque.

Cette 'liminalité' a ceci de particulier que Lucius n'est plus visible dans le monde quotidien: en tant qu'homme, il est considéré comme *mort* ou disparu. Mais, en même temps, après le massacre des brigands, il vit dans la société comme une bête de somme. Ce constat nous amène au point suivant que Turner classe comme le trait le plus caractéristique du personnage liminal.

2. *L'ambiguïté de Lucius*

Pendant sa réclusion, le novice a déjà perdu son statut ordinaire et n'a pas encore son nouveau statut; il n'a ni l'un ni l'autre, mais, dans un autre sens, il a, à la fois, l'un et l'autre. Cette ambiguïté relevée par Turner caractérise exactement l'état de Lucius-âne. Cet anthropologue signale explicitement que, dans certaines initiations, le candidat est considéré à la fois comme homme et animal¹². Tel est le cas de Lucius, dont la forme extérieure est entièrement celle d'un âne (III 25.1).

Devenu âne, Lucius a perdu l'usage de la parole, attribut de base de la culture:

sed iam humano gestu simul et uoce priuatus, quod solum poteram,
postrema deiecta labia umidis tamen oculis oblicum respiciens ad
illam tacitus expostulabam (III 25.1).

¹² V.W. TURNER, *Secular Ritual* (n. 3), p. 37: «Novices are portrayed and act as androgynous, or as both living and dead, at once ghosts and babes both cultural and natural creatures, human and animal».

Mais Lucius n'est pas un âne comme les autres, car il garde sa mémoire et son raisonnement humains:

Ego uero quamquam perfectus asinus et pro Lucio iumentum sensum tamen retinebam humanum (III 26.1).

Il a ainsi l'avantage exceptionnel de réfléchir et d'observer de près ou d'entendre les secrets de la vie privée:

Res ac tempus ipsum locorum speluncaeque <quam> illi latrones inhabitabant descriptionem exponere flagitat. Nam et meum simul periclitabor ingenium, et faxo uos quoque an mente etiam sensuque fuerim asinus sedulo sentiatis (IV 6.1-2).

La conduite alimentaire de Lucius-âne rappelle celle de l'homme:

Nec enim tam stultus eram tamque uere asinus, ut dulcissimis illis relictis cibis cenarem asperimum faenum (X 13.7).

Mais le traitement réservé à Lucius-âne est identique à celui que subissent les autres bêtes de somme¹³. Il n'est plus honoré comme le Lucius d'avant la métamorphose. Au contraire, il est battu par son propre esclave (III 27.4) et vendu à plusieurs reprises (VIII 25.6, IX 10.5, IX 31.3, X 13.2). En compagnie d'autres ânes, il doit porter de lourdes charges (III 28.5, VII 17.2, VII 8.4, VIII 27.3) ou tourner une meule (VII 15.3, IX 11.3).

Delegor enim ligno monte deuehundo, puerque mihi praefectus imponitur omnium unus ille quidem puer deterrimus (VII 17.2).

Une des conséquences de la perte du statut social de Lucius consiste dans ce renversement des valeurs qui le livre à la merci et au service des esclaves (X 13.2). A la fin, Lucius, réhabilité dans son statut d'homme, redeviendra le maître de ses anciens esclaves (XI 2.6).

En somme, rien n'exprime mieux l'ambiguïté de l'état de Lucius que cette opinion qu'il rapporte:

Iamque rumor publice crebruerat, quo conspectum atque famigerabilem meis miris artibus effeceram dominum: hic est, qui sodalem conuiuamque possidet asinum luctantem, asinum saltantem, asinum uoces humanas intellegentem, sensum nutibus exprimentem (X 17.6)

¹³ Il y a quelques cas exceptionnels de marques de reconnaissance témoignées à Lucius-âne (VII 14). Le traitement dont celui-ci est l'objet devient plus humain au livre X 17.2.

Comme la plupart des philologues l'ont bien vu depuis Kerenyi¹⁴, l'âne figurait Seth, qui est, selon le mythe osirien, le meurtrier d'Osiris et l'ennemi d'Isis. Le roman d'Apulée (XI 6.2) rappelle clairement cette hostilité en la plaçant sur les lèvres d'Isis¹⁵.

3. *Les épreuves de Lucius*

Toute la vie de Lucius sous la forme d'un âne est marquée par des épreuves diverses. Il serait fastidieux de les énumérer toutes. Limitons-nous à quelques-unes qui comptent parmi les plus significatives. Lucius lui-même ressasse ce thème tout au long du récit de ses aventures et mésaventures (VI 26.7).

Il considère la menace de mort suivante comme le plus grand danger qu'il ait couru (VIII 31.1):

Nequissimo uerberoni sua placuit salus de mea morte et multum
conseruae laudata sagacitate destinatae iam lanienae cultros acuebat
(VIII 31.5).

Les épreuves multiples contribuent pour une grande part à creuser l'écart entre l'état initial normal de Lucius et son état actuel:

Haec eo narrante ueteris fortunae et illius beati Lucii praesentisque
aerumnae et infelicis asini facta comparatione (. . .) (VII 2.4).

Une expression employée par Lucius dans sa prière finale tandis qu'il est encore âne mérite une attention particulière:

Ac si quod offensum numen inexorabili me saeuitia premit (. . .) (XI
2.4).

Lucius en vient ici à supposer que ses malheurs peuvent résulter de la colère d'un dieu. Pour comprendre la portée de cette affirmation qui reste certes une hypothèse de l'intéressé, nous la rapprocherons de trois faits analogues.

(1) Nous pensons premièrement aux épreuves de Psyché envoyées par la déesse Vénus, irritée de voir Psyché honorée comme elle. Une divinité qui s'estime offensée ne laisse pas le coupable impuni. La colère de Vénus a finalement conduit Psyché à la béatitude (V 24.3).

¹⁴ K. KERENYI, *Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur*, Tübingen 1927, cité par A.D. NOCK in *Gnomon* 4 (1928), p. 485.

¹⁵ L'assimilation de Seth (= Typhon) à l'âne dans les croyances égyptiennes est confirmée avec force détails par Plutarque, *Isis et Osiris* 30-31.

(2) Ensuite dans le contexte des mystères, il semble que l'une des racines de ceux-ci se trouve précisément dans quelques conceptions fondées sur l'idée d'une colère ancienne qui serait à la base de maux dont l'initiation guérissait les mystes¹⁶. Dans le culte de Dionysos, il ne fait pas de doute que ce dieu lui-même était censé être l'auteur de la *mania* qu'il guérissait ensuite moyennant l'initiation à son culte.

(3) En troisième lieu, dans les cultes de possession, tel celui de Lyangombe¹⁷, ce sont aussi des esprits qui sont censés causer les tourments des malades qui rechercheront la guérison dans l'initiation. Celle-ci réconcilie l'ancien malade avec l'esprit persécuteur¹⁸.

Revenant à présent à Lucius, nous pouvons nous demander si l'idée d'*offensum numen* ne se rattache pas à ces conceptions. Ce serait là une indication précieuse sur la manière dont le romancier comprenait l'histoire de son héros. Le discours du grand-prêtre d'Isis (XI 15) paraît confirmer l'hypothèse d'une intervention divine — la Fortune — dans les mésaventures misérables de Lucius, sans pour autant écarter la faute personnelle de celui-ci. Or dans les croyances auxquelles nous avons fait référence, l'esprit (la divinité) tourmente celui qui s'est rendu coupable d'un méfait.

4. *Les transgressions des normes*

Van Gennep, Eliade et Turner signalent la transgression rituelle des normes qui régissent la vie sociale et le «retour à la spontanéité absolue» comme un des attributs essentiels quasi universels de la période de marge¹⁹. Or, dans l'*Âne d'or* (III 24–XI 13), des épisodes et des scènes d'un caractère franchement transgressif foisonnent. Ce renversement des comportements qui n'a cessé d'intriguer la plupart des philologues a souvent été brandi comme l'une des objections,

¹⁶ Cf. W. BURKERT, *Les cultes à mystères dans l'Antiquité*, trad. franç. de B. DEFORGE – L. BARDOLLET, Paris 1992, p. 29 et 33.

¹⁷ Pratiqué principalement au Rwanda, le culte de Lyangombe comporte une initiation ouverte aux hommes et aux femmes de tout âge pourvu qu'ils en reçoivent l'ordre de la part d'un devin.

¹⁸ Pour un exposé de croyances analogues, cf. V.W. TURNER, *Les tambours d'affliction*, Paris 1972, p. 26-27. «Celui qui s'est rendu coupable d'un méfait est, selon l'expression *ndembu*, «saisi» par un esprit dans «un mode d'affliction particulier». Tous ceux qui ont pâti de la colère des ancêtres par le même mode d'affliction et ont été traités par le culte curatif approprié peuvent prétendre à la qualité de membres de l'association ...».

¹⁹ A. VAN GENNEP, *Rites de passage* (n. 2), p. 120, 161-163; M. ELIADE, *Initiation, rites, sociétés secrètes*, 1959, p. 107.

voire l'objection majeure à une interprétation religieuse du roman apulien²⁰.

Cette réaction bien compréhensible est pareille à celle du premier missionnaire qui a décrit l'initiation Lyangombe. Selon lui, celle-ci «fait explicitement de l'inceste et du vol une des notes caractéristiques de ses adeptes»²¹ et consiste en «cérémonies à la fois ridicules et presque sublimes»²². Ces faits n'ont pas empêché le Père Arnoux d'y reconnaître un culte bien organisé.

Et pourtant une autre approche de ces mélanges et de ces dérèglements apparemment dépourvus de sens est possible. Une étude précieuse à ce point de vue portant sur un culte initiatique pratiqué de nos jours en milieu Yaka dans le sud-ouest du Zaïre, relève que «chaque initiation à pareil culte se déroule dans une ambiance où se chevauchent le ludique et le sérieux, le licencieux et l'appel à la norme»²³. Ce constat pourrait bien s'appliquer aussi à l'œuvre d'Apulée.

Après cette introduction qui intègre les épisodes licencieux du roman dans un cadre explicatif cohérent du point de vue de l'anthropologie et des initiations africaines, il reste à passer en revue les passages de l'*Âne d'or* qui s'y rapportent.

(a) Le brigandage

Après sa métamorphose en âne, Lucius devient le compagnon des brigands dont il observe la vie et entend des histoires. Leur comportement se situe en deçà des normes de la société: ils volent, tuent et font l'éloge de ces transgressions. Ces hors-la-loi respectent cependant les règles de conduite fixées par leur association marginale. Quelques indications suffisent pour l'illustrer:

²⁰ Cette objection a été soulevée entre autres par V. BETOLAUD, *Apulée. Œuvres complètes*, Paris s.d., p. XLIV; J.J.M. FELDBRUGGE, *Het schertsende karakter van Apuleius' Metamorphosen*, Utrecht 1938, p. 153. La même objection est formulée par P. VALLETTE, *Apulée. Les Métamorphoses*, Tome I, 1989 [1940], p. XXIV-XXI: «Manque de cohésion, variété d'inspiration, mélange indéfinissable de sérieux et de frivolité, de mysticisme et de libertinage, de dévotion et d'irrévérence, tout Apulée est là». Pour J.J. WINKLER, *Auctor & Actor* (n. 6), p. 124, l'*Âne d'or* ne serait qu'une comédie philosophique.

²¹ A. ARNOUX, in *Anthropos* 8 (1913), p. 774. Les excès de la licence sexuelle dans le culte de Lyangombe chez les Shi du Zaïre sont tels que Kashamura en nie le caractère religieux. A. KASHAMURA, *Famille, sexualité et culture*, Paris 1973, p. 74-92, décrit les accouplements sexuels au hasard dans le culte Lyangombe auquel il fut initié en 1948. Il en conclut faussement que «la religion n'y est qu'un prétexte pour la surexcitation sexuelle» (p. 80).

²² A. ARNOUX, in *Anthropos* 7 (1912), p. 295.

²³ R. DEVISCH, in *Archivio di Filosofia* 60 (1992), p. 535.

Enimuero Thrasyleon egregium decus nostrae factionis tandem immortalitate digno illo spiritu expugnato magis quam patientia neque clamore ac ne ululatu quidem fidem sacramenti prodidit, sed iam moribus laceratus ferroque laniatus obnixo mugitu et ferino fremitu praesentem casum generoso uigore tolerans gloriam sibi reservauit, uitam fato reddidit (IV 21.2-3).

Deux autres brigands sont célébrés dans le même esprit par le narrateur qui est lui-même membre de cette bande de bandits. Avant de passer aux autres formes de suspension des règles qui humanisent la société, il faut signaler le contraste entre l'éloge du brigandage et la punition des brigands qui apparaît dans le roman. Nous pouvons y voir une des expressions de ce chevauchement du «licencieux et de l'appel à la norme».

(b) Levée des tabous sexuels

La licence sexuelle est un des thèmes qui permettent d'appréhender certains des épisodes de l'*Âne d'or* comme des mises en forme romanesques des actes de transgression rituelle. L'accouplement avec l'animal, l'inceste, l'adultère et l'homosexualité y sont décrits avec force détails dans plus d'un cas.

Des relations amoureuses conformes aux normes éthiques et sociales de l'époque (II^e siècle après J.-C.) n'y figurent presque pas, à l'exception du conte de Psyché et de l'histoire de Charité (VII 14.3) où elles sont à peine évoquées en quelques mots. Cette inversion des valeurs ne peut être que délibérée.

(1) *Le commerce avec l'animal*

Le coït d'un être humain avec un animal est attesté comme une conduite prescrite dans certaines initiations²⁴. Telle qu'elle est décrite dans l'*Âne d'or* (X 19.3–22.4), cette forme de transgression semble revêtir au moins deux significations. La satire sociale en est une: la femme qui décide de s'unir à l'âne Lucius est une *matrona quaedam pollens et opulens*, «une dame de haut rang et fort riche» (X 19.3). Elle a à son service quatre domestiques, tous des eunuques (X 20.2). Le comportement de cette femme est d'autant plus blâmable qu'elle appartient à la haute classe de sa société et qu'elle est mariée (*matrona*). La *bestialité* est doublée d'un adultère.

²⁴ A. VAN GENNEP, *Rites de passage* (n. 2), p. 246-248.

Du point de vue de Lucius-âne, quel rôle et quel sens donner à cet accouplement avec un être humain? C'est sans doute une illustration de la lubricité de l'âne en tant qu'animal séthien²⁵. La *bestialité* se présente sous deux formes dans l'*Âne d'or*. Dans un cas (X 21.4), il s'agit d'un acte censé avoir été consommé, dans l'autre cas, c'est un projet que la fuite de Lucius-âne a mis en échec. La relation sexuelle publique de Lucius-âne avec une femme condamnée aux bêtes à la suite de ses nombreux crimes n'a pas eu lieu. Bref, le coït avec l'âne revêt plusieurs significations; la satirique et la rituelle figurent en tous cas parmi les plus sûres.

(2) *L'en-deça de l'interdit de l'inceste*

La promesse de commettre l'inceste est une des formes de l'abolition rituelle des règles morales dans le culte Lyangombe. L'épisode de l'*Âne d'or* (X 2-12) qui décrit une tentative d'inceste a déjà été signalé comme un récit ayant des analogies avec l'initiation isiaque²⁶. Mais il ne semble pas que l'inceste manqué et relaté dans ce passage ait été interprété comme un écho de la suspension rituelle des normes de la vie sexuelle lors de la phase liminale des rites de passage. Mis en rapport avec la fausse mort et la scène de retour à la vie normale du fils de l'épouse incestueuse, il peut pourtant être considéré comme une des formes de cette levée de tabous sexuels.

(3) *L'adultère*

Comme le brigandage, l'adultère est exalté dans certains passages du roman d'Apulée (IX 16.2-3). Après avoir entendu une histoire de ce genre, une matrone s'exclame:

Beatam illam, quae tam constantis sodalis libertate fruitur! At ego misella molae etiam sonum et ecce illius scabiosi asini faciem timentem familiarem incidi (IX 22.1).

Les chapitres 15 à 28 du livre IX de l'*Âne d'or* sont entièrement consacrés à trois histoires d'adultère enveloppées les unes dans les autres. Lucius-âne les a entendues de loin grâce à ses longues oreilles (IX 15.6). La première est celle d'un galant audacieux, un certain Philésithère, qui a trompé la vigilance d'un mari jaloux (IX 17-21). L'histoire

²⁵ J. HANI, *RPh* 47 (1973), p. 277.

²⁶ Cf. R. MERKELBACH, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike*, Munich 1962, p. 83.

est racontée à la femme du meunier par son amie entremetteuse. Le deuxième cas concerne le flagrant délit d'adultère de la femme d'un foulon surpris par le mari en présence des convives, dont le meunier. Cette scène est rapportée par ce dernier à son épouse pendant qu'elle-même cache son amant sous un van en bois. Ce troisième adultère est dévoilé au meunier par Lucius-âne qui a réussi à faire sortir le galant de sa cachette. Ces deux derniers actes se passent donc presque simultanément, un peu à la façon des accouplements rituels dans le culte Lyangombe. Le premier ne fait que préparer le troisième. Deux autres cas isolés d'adultère sont mentionnés ailleurs (VIII 22, IX 5-6).

(4) *L'homosexualité*

Dans l'*Âne d'or*, l'homosexualité est le fait des prêtres de la déesse Syrienne et d'un meunier soucieux de venger son honneur (IX 28.1).

Dans le premier cas, cette pratique ne peut être séparée de la vie des prêtres d'Atargatis qu'il faut considérer comme un tout offrant l'exemple d'une religion incitant au dérèglement des mœurs: le vol, la mendicité, le mensonge, autant de comportements admis et encouragés par des prêtres d'une religion impure. Leur chef est décrit en ces termes:

Scitote qualem: cinaedum et senem cinaedum, caluum quidem sed cincinnis semicanis et pendulis capillatum, unum de triuali popularium faece, qui per plateas et oppida cymbalis et crotalis personantes deamque Syriam circumferentes mendicare compellunt (VIII 24.2).

Les autres prêtres sont aussi des homosexuels (VIII 26.1-2). L'*Âne d'or* (VIII 29.3-6) relate une scène de leurs pratiques aberrantes. Ces actes n'ont toutefois pas de signification rituelle comparable à celle qui a été mise en évidence dans le coït avec l'animal. Ils servent à illustrer, en même temps que d'autres comportements, une religion dépravée²⁷ au regard d'un adepte de la déesse égyptienne.

Le cas du meunier, y comprise l'attitude qu'il adopte à l'égard de l'enfant qui a séduit son épouse est différent²⁸. Il l'a fait dans l'unique but d'humilier sa propre épouse et l'amant de celle-ci:

²⁷ Les dérèglements sexuels de ces prêtres sont aussi dénoncés par Juvenal, *Satires* VI 511-520.

²⁸ Le comportement du meunier qui abuse de l'amant de sa femme, que le texte désigne comme *puer* (IX 22.6, 27.3), transgresse un des engagements que devaient prendre les prêtres isiaques au II^e siècle après J.-C. Ceux-ci proclamaient entre autres: «Je n'ai pas eu de contact (sexuel) avec un enfant mâle. Je n'ai pas eu de contact (sexuel) avec la femme d'un autre» (R. MERKELBACH, *ZPE* 2, 1968, p. 14-15, col. 1, ll. 22-24).

Nihil triste de me tibi, fili, metuas. Non sum barbarus nec agresti morum squalore praeditus nec ad exemplum naccinae truculentiae sulphuris te letali fumo necabo ac ne iuris quidem seueritate lege de adulteriis ad discrimen uocabo capitis tam uenustum tamque pulchellum puellum, sed plane cum uxore mea partiario tractabo (IX 27.4).

La volonté exprimée par cet époux trompé s'écarte des règles de la vie courante sur deux points: d'une part, le meunier choisit de se faire justice, ce qui n'est pas dans les normes; d'autre part, il abuse du jeune homme adultère (IX 28.1): ceci est aberrant. La décision et le comportement de ce meunier se rangent aussi dans cette même ambiance marginale de la 'liminalité' créée par l'adultère. En répondant à une transgression par une autre, cet homme contribue à étendre un monde sans loi dont il sera la première victime.

(c) Le meurtre

Après avoir humilié sa femme, le meunier divorce d'avec elle. Celle-ci le fait pendre par une magicienne (IX 30.1-7). Le thème du meurtre est très développé dans les livres du roman que nous passons rapidement en revue:

- l'histoire des brigands se termine par leur massacre (VII 13.6);
- Tlépolème, le mari de Charité, est assassiné à la chasse par son ami Thrasyllé, un ancien prétendant de son épouse (VIII 5);
- Charité se donne la mort (VIII 24.1) après avoir crevé les yeux de Thrasyllé;
- un esclave, qui entretenait une relation d'adultère avec une femme libre, est livré à une mort extrêmement cruelle par son maître (VIII 22);
- trois frères sont mis à mort en entreprenant de défendre leur voisin opprimé par un accapareur de terrains; ce dernier périt dans la même rixe (IX 36-38.7);
- une belle-mère incestueuse cause la mort de son fils par un poison qu'elle destinait à son beau-fils dont elle s'était éprise. Mais il s'agit d'une fausse mort, car le poison n'en était pas un, mais plutôt un narcotique (X 5 et 12);
- enfin, la femme condamnée aux bêtes à laquelle Lucius-âne devait s'accoupler publiquement a envoyé à la mort cinq personnes innocentes: sa belle-sœur qu'elle regardait à tort comme l'amante de son mari, celui-ci, le médecin auprès duquel elle avait acheté du poison, sa propre fille à qui revenait l'héritage laissé par son mari et la femme du médecin (X 25-28.2);

– à ce relevé, il convient d'ajouter la mise à mort involontaire des deux sœurs dans le conte de Psyché (V 27.2 et 4) et la pendaison de la servante des brigands (VI 30.6).

Aucune de ces morts n'est l'exécution d'une sentence de justice. Il s'agit de transgressions des lois et des normes de la morale isiaque²⁹. Comme telles, elles peuvent donc s'insérer, à côté d'autres formes de comportements transgressifs, dans un contexte liminal, dit à juste titre période de marge. Le narrateur Lucius, qui est campé à la fin du roman comme avocat à Rome, ne se prive pas de rapporter parfois la condamnation légale qui a frappé certains auteurs de ces actes marginaux.

Néanmoins, ce qui frappe dans l'*Âne d'or*, c'est le grand nombre de ces crimes qui sont relatés dans les livres V, VI, VII, VIII, IX et X. Par cette exagération, l'auteur ne se proposait-il pas de créer l'impression d'un monde chaotique? Nous répondons par l'affirmative parce que la peinture de l'univers isiaque qui succède à ce chaos provisoire ne fait état d'aucune forme de transgression accomplie (XI).

Pour résumer cette subdivision, nous ne prétendons pas que, dans le roman d'Apulée, chaque épisode immoral transcrit un fait rituel. Car on trouve aussi des descriptions de comportements libertins et affranchis de normes dans d'autres œuvres littéraires qui n'ont rien à voir avec les rites de l'initiation. Toutefois, le plus important en ce qui concerne Apulée, est le principe universel et actuel dont il s'inspire consciemment et selon lequel le processus de l'initiation implique nécessairement une suspension, voire une inversion, des conventions sociales.

«Les novices sont hors de la société ... Ainsi s'explique, le plus simplement, un fait qui a été relevé chez de très nombreuses populations et qui est resté incompréhensible aux observateurs. C'est que pendant le noviciat, les jeunes gens peuvent voler et piller tout à leur aise, ou se nourrir et s'orner aux dépens de la communauté»³⁰.

Il cite entre autres l'exemple du Liberia où les jeunes Vaï sont instruits dans les coutumes juridiques et politiques de leur peuple, de l'autre côté, le vol leur est facilité par leurs initiateurs. Turner a souligné le caractère obligatoire de la transgression rituelle:

²⁹ Le serment des prêtres que nous venons de citer mentionne aussi: «Je n'ai pas assassiné un homme». Lucius, qui deviendra prêtre d'Osiris après son initiation, est censé, sinon prêter le même serment, du moins le connaître.

³⁰ A. VAN GENNEP, *Rites de passage* (n. 2), p. 161.

«But one thing must be kept in mind — *all* these acts and symbols are of *obligation*. Even the *breaking* of rules *has* to be done during initiation»³¹.

Dans la religion observée par Hérodote en Egypte comme dans l'initiation aux mystères d'Eleusis, les comportements licencieux n'ont pas manqué³². Les chapitres 25.26 et surtout 27 du traité de Plutarque impliquent très probablement l'existence de quelques formes de transgressions dans les rites de l'initiation isiaque. La présence de telles obscénités est d'ailleurs l'argument principal qui amène l'auteur à se ranger à l'avis de ceux qui considèrent Seth-Typhon, Osiris et Isis comme de grands démons (ch. 25, 260E).

Si des excès réels de la licence sexuelle ont été observés dans les initiations telle que celle de Lyangombe, les exagérations de faits similaires dans l'*Âne d'or* procèdent d'une volonté délibérée de l'auteur.

Mais la phase liminale ne se compose pas uniquement de la levée des tabous. Elle a aussi ses aspects sérieux. De même, le roman d'Apulée possède les siens.

5. *L'instruction*

La transmission d'un savoir sacré constitue un des éléments essentiels de la phase liminale. Qu'en est-il dans cette partie de l'*Âne d'or* considérée ici comme équivalente de la 'liminalité'? Le conte de Psyché et de Cupidon, ce long récit que Lucius-âne a entendu lors de sa réclusion chez les brigands semble remplir la fonction d'un enseignement initiatique³³. Etudions-en la structure et les thèmes à la lumière du schéma des rites de passage et des caractéristiques de la période de marge.

L'analyse de ce conte permet d'y reconnaître aussi les trois phases de la structure type des rites de passage:

Psyché chez ses parents;

Psyché en marge de la société;

Psyché divinisée au ciel.

(a) Etat normal: Psyche dans la maison de ses parents

Le statut initial de Psyché (IV 28.1) est celui d'une princesse dotée d'une beauté incomparable, mais célibataire. A l'insu de cette jeune fille

³¹ *From Ritual to Theatre*, New York 1982, p. 42.

³² Hérodote II 60; V. MAGNIEN, *Les mystères d'Eleusis*, Paris 1938, p. 333-336, et M. MEHAUDEN, in Cl.J. BLEEKER (ed.), *Initiation*, Leyde 1965, p. 67-68.

³³ R. MERKELBACH, *Roman und Mysterium* (n. 26), p. 65.

et de ses parents, comme de tous les hommes, la déesse Vénus et Cupidon conçoivent des plans pour l'avenir de Psyché. Cette initiative divine est communiquée au père de la princesse en termes ambigus par l'oracle d'Apollon:

Montis in excelsi scopulo, rex, siste puellam
ornatam mundo funerei thalami.
Nec speres generum mortali stirpe creatum
sed saeuum atque ferum uipereumque malum (IV 33.1).

Lorsque cette nouvelle est annoncée à la ville, la population exprime sa déception en proclamant un deuil public (IV 33.5). Un cortège funèbre accompagne la princesse jusqu'au rocher indiqué par l'oracle:

Perfectis igitur feralis thalami cum summo maerore sollemnibus toto
prosequente populo uiuum producit funus, et lacrimosa Psyche
comitatur non nuptias sed exequias suas (IV 34.1).

Les similitudes de ce conte avec un rituel initiatique paraissent hors de doute:

Itur ad constitutum scopulum montis ardui, cuius in summo cacumine
statutam puellam cuncti deserunt, taedasque nuptiales, quibus prae-
luxerant, ibidem lacrimis suis extinctas relinquentes deiectis capitibus
domuitionem parant (IV 35.2).

Qui peut hésiter à reconnaître dans ce passage la description exacte d'un rite de séparation? Le deuil, la procession funèbre, le retour des participants chez eux après l'abandon de Psyché sur une montagne, tout ce symbolisme signifie le détachement de la princesse de son état initial et de son statut de célibataire. Ainsi se termine, comme dans le déroulement d'une cérémonie initiatique réelle, la première phase du conte de Psyché (IV 35.4).

- (b) Etat anormal: Psyche en marge de la société des hommes et des dieux

L'unité des épisodes (V 1.1–VI 21) rassemblés sous cette rubrique découle du fait que Psyché n'est plus chez ses parents et n'est pas encore au ciel; elle est située en marge de la société humaine et de l'Olympe, entre les deux mondes. Dans un premier temps, elle vit dans le palais de Cupidon. Sa réclusion dans cette demeure lui pèse précisément parce qu'elle est coupée de tout contact avec les êtres humains (V 5.5).

Pour ses sœurs, comme pour ses parents (V 4.6), elle est considérée comme *morte*:

Sorores iam tuae mortis opinione turbatae tuumque uestigium requireres scopulum istum protinus aderunt, (V 5.3).

La retraite et la rumeur sur sa mort, voilà déjà deux faits qui contribuent à définir la phase liminale du conte de Psyché: est-il possible d'y discerner d'autres éléments caractéristiques? Oui.

(1) *Ambiguïté*

Pour Psyché, le statut de son conjoint est particulièrement ambigu. Elle peut le toucher et l'entendre, mais elle ne le voit jamais:

Nec enim unquam uiri mei uidi faciem uel omnino cuiatis sit noui, sed tantum nocturnis subaudiens uocibus maritum incerti status et prorsus lucifugam tolero, bestiamque aliquam recte dicentibus uobis merito consentio (V 19.2).

Cette ambiguïté sur la nature même de Cupidon dont Psyché ne sait encore rien ressort déjà de l'oracle (IV 33) qui le décrit à la fois comme un monstre et un dieu ailé. L'ambiguïté que l'anthropologue Turner a retenue comme le trait le plus caractéristique de la phase liminale se trouve être un attribut supposé majeur du protagoniste du conte de Psyché. C'est sur cette ambiguïté que le sort de l'héroïne va se jouer. En effet, le dieu Cupidon, qui a épousé Psyché dans un mariage de fait (V 24.4), refuse de révéler son identité à son épouse. Il lui interdit de chercher à la découvrir. Les sœurs aînées de Psyché qui ont réussi à la rejoindre soupçonnent que celui qui se cache ainsi peut être un dieu (V 16.4). Mais, jalouses du bonheur de leur sœur cadette, elles s'ingénient à la persuader que son conjoint est un monstre (V 17.2-4). Elles exploitent ainsi l'ambiguïté de l'oracle.

Après avoir tenté, malgré l'avertissement de son époux, de le découvrir et de le tuer suivant les conseils perfides de ses sœurs, Psyché se rend compte que son mari n'était pas un monstre, mais un dieu. Trop tard; elle a déjà *violé* le tabou.

Il avait été signalé à la jeune épouse que l'enfant dont elle était enceinte serait divin ou mortel selon qu'elle observerait ou non la volonté de Cupidon (V 11.6). La nature de cet enfant semble aussi porter la marque de l'ambiguïté. Enfin, Psyché est à la fois vivante pour Cupidon et morte pour ses parents qui continuent à porter le deuil (V 4.6, 7.3).

(2) *Transgression*

Le thème de la transgression revêt plusieurs formes dans le conte en question. La plus caractéristique, compte tenu de son rôle central dans le déroulement du récit, est la violation par Psyché de l'interdiction énoncée par son mari (V 5-6). Elle a été préparée par la transgression de la piété familiale par les sœurs de l'héroïne (*calcata sanguinis foedera*, V 12.6). Après la tentative du meurtre de Cupidon (V 20.4-5, 22.2-3), Psyché envoie ses deux sœurs à la mort. Tout cela introduit le chaos dans les relations: d'une part, Cupidon se sépare de Psyché qui est de nouveau seule; d'autre part, celle-ci rompt définitivement ses liens familiaux avec ses sœurs. Ce désordre propre à la période de marge est admirablement décrit par le conteur:

... ac per hoc non uoluptas ulla non gratia non lepos, sed incompta et agrestia et horrida cuncta sint, non nuptiae coniugales non amicitiae sociales non liberum caritates, sed enormis colluuius et squalentium foederum insuauis fastidium (V 28.5).

Ce 'retour provisoire au chaos' que Van Gennep appelait «la suspension des règles ordinaires de la vie», intervient pendant la période de marge au cours de laquelle Psyché entreprend la quête de Cupidon (V 28.1).

Dans l'histoire de Lucius, cet épisode du conte correspond à l'ambiance créée par les nombreuses transgressions analysées ci-dessus (III 25-X). Passons aux autres thèmes.

(3) *La communication des sacra*

La vue et la transmission des objets sacrés ou la contemplation des êtres surnaturels s'observent également dans le conte de Psyché. L'épisode même de la découverte de Cupidon par Psyché évoque le rite initiatique de la révélation du sacré qui constitue le moment culminant dans certains rituels. Mais il a été considéré ci-dessus comme un comportement transgressif parce qu'il est dicté par une intention meurtrière que les avertissements de Cupidon ont tenté en vain de prévenir. Il y a donc inversion du rite attendu. Comme tel, il rappelle la scène dans laquelle Lucius observe curieusement Pamphilé lors de la transformation de celle-ci en hibou (III 21.3-6). Le parallèle d'un autre ordre avec ces deux épisodes se trouve dans le dévoilement des outres que Lucius considérait jusque là comme des hommes qu'il avait assassinés (III 9.5-6).

Lorsque Psyché a observé le dieu Cupidon, elle se fait piquer par une des flèches du fils de Vénus. Elle en devient éperdument amoureuse. Or, selon Turner que nous avons déjà cité, les *sacra* sont censés impliquer des pouvoirs mystiques. Au-delà de son sens manifeste, la notation de l'attachement irrésistible de Psyché à Cupidon à ce moment du conte ne renvoie-t-elle pas à cette conception?

Il n'en va pas autrement de la boîte que Psyché reçoit de Proserpine (VI 20.4) pour l'apporter à Vénus. Le contenu de cette *pyxis* a le pouvoir redoutable d'endormir. Et Psyché n'y échappe pas:

Et iacebat immobilis et nihil aliud quam dormiens cadauer (VI 21.2).

Tel est le dernier symbole de la mort³⁴ qui caractérise la seconde section de l'itinéraire de Psyché. Après cela, celle-ci ne fait rien d'autre que rapporter la boîte à Vénus après avoir été arrachée à son sommeil par Cupidon. Sa rencontre avec ce dernier met donc fin à sa vie en marge de la terre habitée et de l'Olympe.

(c) Etat final: Psyche divinisée dans l'Olympe

Entre la fin de l'itinéraire de Psyché (VI 21) et le moment de son mariage solennel (VI 23.5) au ciel, le chapitre 22 du livre VI place les préparatifs immédiats entrepris par Cupidon en vue de ses noces. Ces démarches sont situées au ciel. Raison pour laquelle nous les considérons ici comme des préliminaires au mariage qui confère son statut final à Psyché.

Par la suite, Cupidon obtient de Jupiter qu'elle soit conduite au ciel, immortalisée et épousée dans les formes. Jupiter lui-même préside la cérémonie du mariage:

Porrecto ambrosiae poculo: «Sume,» inquit «Psyche et immortalis esto, nec unquam digredietur a tuo nexu Cupido sed istae uobis erunt perpetuae nuptiae» (VI 23.5).

Après avoir fait le récit de la fête nuptiale, le narrateur termine le conte par cette phrase significative:

Sic rite Psyche conuenit in manum Cupidinis et nascitur illis maturo partu filia, quam Voluptatem nominamus (VI 24.4).

³⁴ E.J. KENNEY, *Apuleius. Cupid and Psyche*, Cambridge 1990, p. 217. Quoi qu'en dise cet auteur, le premier sommeil de Psyché (V 1.1) symbolise aussi la mort comme l'a bien vu P. GRIMAL, *Apulei Metamorphoseis (IV 28–VI 24)*, Paris 1963, p. 50. Cette interprétation s'impose à la suite du contexte de deuil qui précède (IV 34.2–35.4), de l'oracle qui annonçait un hymen de mort et du contexte qui suit sur la fausse nouvelle de la mort de Psyché (V 5.3). Il faut supposer qu'entre ces deux moments, une forme quelconque de mort a dû frapper Psyché.

Nous avons vu que le statut initial de Psyché était celui d'une jeune fille mortelle dans la maison royale de ses parents. Son statut final est celui d'une déesse mariée habitant au ciel. Cette nouvelle naissance de Psyché se traduit par un signe: la naissance d'un enfant immortel au nom symbolique³⁵.

Ce nouveau statut de Psyché unit deux aspects complémentaires: le mariage et la divinisation. C'est surtout par cette dernière que le conte de Psyché correspond à un processus d'initiation, aboutissant à l'identification de l'initié à la figure mythique, divinité ou esprit.

Le mariage, comme l'initiation, est aussi un rite de passage bâti sur une structure ternaire: séparation, marge, agrégation. Aussi le mariage (hiérogamie) figure-t-il rituellement dans plusieurs scénarios initiatiques pour traduire en acte l'idée, soit de la relation, soit de l'agrégation de l'initié à la divinité ou à l'esprit. Tel est le cas de l'initié au culte Lyangombe dont on dit: «il a épousé Lyangombe».

Il ressort de ces considérations que le conte de Psyché et Cupidon ne peut pas être interprété exclusivement comme une histoire d'amour et de mariage. Ayant retrouvé dans ce conte la structure ternaire et les caractéristiques majeures de la seconde phase des rites de passage, nous concluons qu'il a pour fonction, entre autres, de transmettre un enseignement à Lucius retiré chez les brigands.

6. Transformation initiatique de l'homme et changement cosmique

Van Gennep avait noté que certaines initiations de l'Antiquité gréco-romaine correspondaient le passage effectué par l'initié d'un état à l'autre au rythme cosmique telle l'alternance des saisons³⁶.

Dans les initiations que nous avons étudiées, les rites essentiels ont toujours lieu la nuit, évoquant par là la mort symbolique alors que la renaissance est rituellement célébrée le matin. Or l'itinéraire de Lucius dans l'*Âne d'or* s'exprime à travers un symbolisme similaire. En effet, la métamorphose de Lucius en âne s'opère la nuit (III 21.3 *circa primam noctis uigiliam*, environ la première veille de la nuit). La transformation de Lucius-âne en homme se réalise le matin (XI 5.5, 7.2, 13.2-6). Mais

³⁵ En Egypte, à l'époque pharaonique, les prêtres d'Osiris faisaient apparaître un enfant après la renaissance rituelle (A. MORET, *Mystères égyptiens*, Paris 1927, p. 70 n. 1).

³⁶ A. VAN GENNEP, *Rites de passage* (n. 2), p. 279; W. BURKERT, *Les cultes à mystères dans l'Antiquité* (n. 16), p. 75.

il faut surtout noter qu'elle se place au printemps: la renaissance de Lucius coïncide ainsi avec celle de la nature. Ce fait est bien souligné par le narrateur:

(. . .) tantaque hilaritudine praeter peculiarem meam gestire mihi cuncta uidebantur, ut pecua etiam cuiusce modi et totas domos et ipsum diem serena facie gaudere sentirem. Nam et pruinam pridianam dies apricus ac placidus repente fuerat insecutus, ut canorae etiam auiculae prolectatae uerno uapore concentus suaues adsonarent, matrem siderum, parentem temporum orbisque totius dominam blando mulcentes adfammine. Quid quod arbores etiam, quae pomifera subole fecundae quaeque earum tantum umbra contentae steriles, austrinis laxatae flatibus, germine foliorum renidentes, clementi motu brachiorum dulces strepitus obsibilabant, (XI 7.3-5)

Ce passage décrit le contexte cosmique dans lequel s'effectue le passage de Lucius-âne de l'animalité à l'humanité, de la seconde à la troisième phase de son itinéraire. La description pittoresque d'Apulée mérite d'être mise en rapport avec des cérémonies de l'Égypte pharaonique. En effet, des rites de la renaissance végétale et animale précédaient de quelques heures ceux de la résurrection d'Osiris³⁷. Or, dans l'*Âne d'or*, le chapitre 7 que nous venons de citer est suivi de la métamorphose de Lucius en homme, c'est-à-dire de sa nouvelle naissance au chapitre 13. Ce fait paraît indiquer — comme la manducation des roses au cours d'une fête isiaque — qu'Apulée connaissait bien les vieilles conceptions relatives aux rituels de la religion égyptienne.

En plaçant la manducation des roses et le retour à l'humanité de Lucius dans un contexte rituel, qui est celui d'une cérémonie isiaque, l'*Âne d'or* se conforme vraisemblablement à certaines conceptions magico-religieuses qui sous-tendent la pratique des cultes de guérison. Nous avons du reste des vestiges de celles-ci dans l'Antiquité classique³⁸. En effet, selon ces conceptions, il est généralement admis qu'un individu qui s'est aventuré à jouer avec des pouvoirs magiques sans une initiation en bonne et due forme et qui en subit les conséquences fâcheuses — comme Lucius — est incapable de s'en sortir tout seul, même en appliquant le remède indiqué. Dans le même ordre d'idées, nul ne s'avise de soigner traditionnellement un malade, même s'il connaît les plantes médicinales utiles au cas en question tant qu'il n'a pas été

³⁷ A. MORET, *Mystères égyptiens* (n. 35), p. 31-34.

³⁸ R. MACMULLEN, *Paganism in the Roman Empire*, New Haven 1981, p. 50-51.

habilité par un rite administré par un guérisseur attitré³⁹. Cette coutume visait peut-être la protection du savoir initiatique des guérisseurs.

Quoi qu'il en soit, le récit d'Apulée paraît en accord avec de telles conceptions: après avoir pris et utilisé l'onguent de la magicienne Pamphilé sans en payer le prix requis, Lucius ne pouvait être libéré de l'emprise de la magie que par un rite approprié, administré par un homme formé, en l'occurrence un prêtre d'Isis. Pamphilé ou un autre magicien pouvait aussi lui faire recouvrer son humanité.

La référence à ces conceptions, sous-jacentes à la narration d'Apulée, permet de saisir sous un autre angle l'unité et la cohérence des onze livres de l'*Âne d'or*. Elle montre que l'intervention d'Isis n'est pas un 'appendice' comme le prétendait Perry⁴⁰, mais une partie nécessaire de l'ensemble.

*

* *

Tous les thèmes que nous avons rassemblés ci-dessus sont suffisants pour attester que l'*Âne d'or* (III 24 à XI 13) présente les caractéristiques essentielles de la seconde phase de la structure des rites de passage, en l'occurrence celle de l'initiation. Nous avons délibérément omis l'analyse des éléments comiques et ludiques. Certains philologues y ont réduit toute la signification du roman apuléien. Or ces amusements, à titre exemplatif (IV 13; X 29.3-32 et même XI 8), figurent normalement dans les scénarios initiatiques comme une partie intégrante.

En amont et en aval de la phase de marge de l'*Âne d'or* (III 24 à XI 13) des rites proprement dits, dont Lucius est le destinataire, sont célébrés dans le roman: d'un côté les rites de la magie métamorphosante (III 24.1), et, de l'autre, la prière à la Lune, la procession isiaque et la manducation des roses (XI 2.8-13). Les uns isolent le personnage de la société, les autres l'agrègent à la communauté des fidèles d'Isis.

CONSIDÉRATIONS FINALES

Avant de conclure quelques remarques s'imposent. Le récit romanesque se démarque d'une initiation réelle, notamment par le traitement littéraire de l'espace et du temps rituels. L'espace rituel est certes évo-

³⁹ Cf. V.W. TURNER, *Les tambours d'affliction* (n. 18), p. 25.

⁴⁰ B.E. PERRY, *The Ancient Romances*, Berkely-Los Angeles 1967, p. 242-244.

qué, par exemple par la caverne des brigands. Cependant la majeure partie de l'itinéraire liminal du héros s'effectue en parcourant des villes et des bourgs entre Hypata et Corinthe (III 28-X 19.1) jusqu'à Cenchrées (X 35.3). L'initiation isiaque se déroulait sur un terrain plus restreint et clos, celui du temple.

Concernant le temps, la durée des événements racontés dans les dix premiers livres est évaluée à une année, d'une saison des roses à l'autre⁴¹. Lucius est censé avoir vécu la condition de l'âne ou la réclusion pendant un peu plus de onze mois. Si nous y incluons la période de jeûne, l'initiation isiaque s'étend sur une dizaine de jours, sa phase de marge dure une seule nuit (XI 23). Depuis la première initiation de Lucius à la fin du roman une année se serait écoulée.

Le chronotope de l'*Âne d'or* se révèle donc comme un élargissement considérable de l'espace-temps rituel. C'est là une des raisons qui permettent de considérer le roman apulien comme un développement de la structure fondamentale des rites d'initiation.

Pour vérifier la validité de notre analyse, soumettons-la à une contre-épreuve: la structure initiatique que nous avons décelée dans l'*Âne d'or* n'est-elle pas également présente dans les autres romans antiques? La réponse est négative. En effet, la structure typique du roman grec se ramène à peu près à ceci: un jeune homme et une jeune fille se rencontrent. Ils tombent amoureux l'un de l'autre, mais se voient séparés malgré eux. Après mille et une péripéties ils se rejoignent et se marient. Tel n'est pas le cas de Lucius, le héros de l'*Âne d'or*. Même la structure de *Loukios ou l'Âne* du Pseudo-Lucien diffère de celle du roman latin, car le héros du roman grec retrouve au terme de ses aventures un statut identique à celui qu'il endossait auparavant. Il n'est pas devenu 'autre' comme Lucius.

Faute de cette structure tripartite, les thèmes abordés par tous les romans y compris le *Satiricon* de Pétrone n'ont pas le sens que leur confère le contexte de l'*Âne d'or*.

Cette étude confirme l'hypothèse selon laquelle le récit de l'*Âne d'or* constitue un développement de la structure ternaire des rites d'initiation. L'itinéraire de Lucius passe successivement par les trois états par lesquels transite l'initié.

En particulier, la deuxième partie du roman, les aventures vécues, entendues ou observées par Lucius sous la forme d'un âne semble

⁴¹ R.VAN DER PAARDT, in B.L. HIJMAN JR. – R.VAN DER PAARDT (edd.), *Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass* (n. 9), p. 85.

constituer une verbalisation littéraire des principaux traits caractéristiques de la phase liminale définis par les anthropologues. Il s'agit entre autres de l'ambiguïté de l'état de Lucius, qui, reclus dans sa peau d'âne, réunit certains attributs de l'homme et de l'animal. Sa réduction à l'animalité le fait passer pour disparu ou mort — ce qui revient au même — et donne lieu à un deuil. Entre-temps, il subit des épreuves diverses, reçoit une instruction sous la forme d'un joli conte, et fait l'expérience d'un univers marginalisé, caractérisé par la suspension de toutes les conventions morales, sociales et religieuses.

La dernière partie du roman, soit la seconde moitié du livre XI, campe un Lucius tout différent de ce qu'il était auparavant. Il est devenu un brillant avocat, plein de confiance en la toute-puissance de la déesse Isis et assuré de la protection d'Osiris. Autrefois profane, le voilà maintenant non seulement initié isiaque, mais aussi pastophore, prêtre capable d'initier. Appauvri par sa métamorphose et ses mésaventures, il est parvenu à la prospérité financière grâce à la sollicitude des dieux égyptiens.

La présence concomitante de la structure ternaire, des thèmes de la phase liminale dans l'*Âne d'or* et de la description d'une initiation au culte d'Isis corrobore la signification initiatique isiaque du roman apuléen. Plus d'un passage de ce chef-d'œuvre prouve qu'Apulée était conscient de la signification religieuse de l'économie générale de son roman.

Le recours à l'excellent schéma heuristique mis au point par Van Gennep et Turner nous a permis de rendre compte de plus d'une difficulté que soulève l'interprétation de l'œuvre d'Apulée.

Il ressort entre autres de cette étude que l'unité des dix premiers livres et du dernier ne tient pas seulement à la structure du roman, mais aussi à la logique des conceptions religieuses auxquelles se rattache le récit des aventures de Lucius. La métamorphose de celui-ci étant présentée comme un effet de la magie — et donc des esprits — son retour à l'humanité nécessitait un contexte rituel et l'intervention des puissances invisibles. L'épiphanie d'Isis se trouve justifiée et à sa place.

H. MIMBU KILOL